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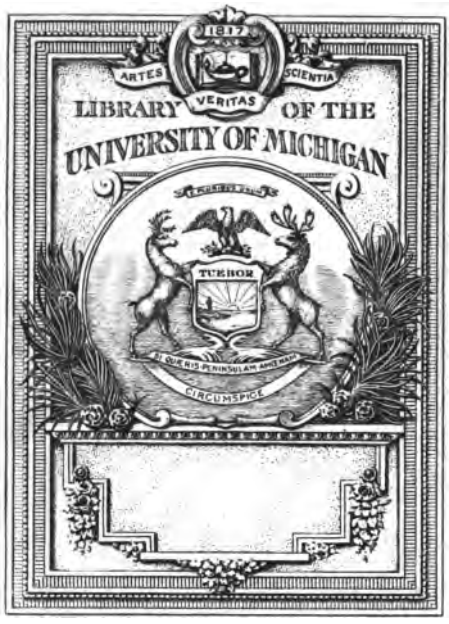
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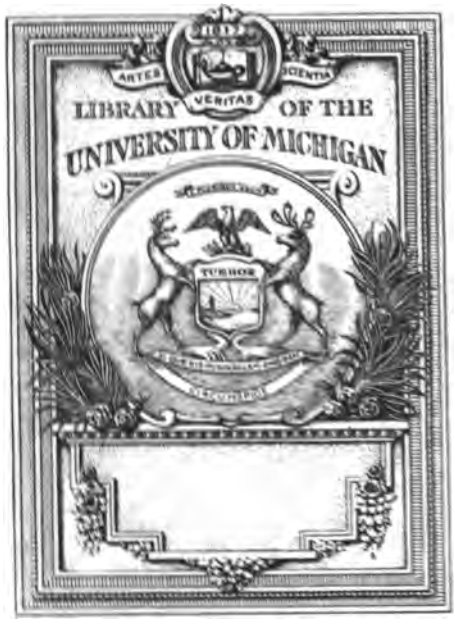
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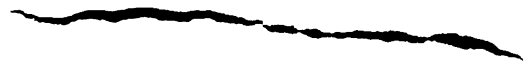

LIVES

OF THE MOST EMINENT

FATHERS OF THE CHURCH

THAT FLOURISHED IN THE

FIRST FOUR CENTURIES;

WITH

[illegible] ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF PAGANISM UNDER THE FIRST CHRISTIAN EMPERORS.

BY

WILLIAM CAVE, D.D.

A NEW EDITION, CAREFULLY REVISED,

BY

HENRY CARY, M.A.

WORCESTER COLLEGE, AND PERPETUAL CURATE OF ST. PAUL'S, OXFORD.

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ADVERTISEMENT TO THE PRESENT EDITION.

The writings of Cave, especially his Lives of the Fathers, are so well known and appreciated, that the Editor is persuaded a lengthened preface of his own would not add at all to their value. He need therefore only state what his task has been in preparing the present edition for the press. The text has been carefully revised throughout, and the authorities quoted and referred to have been collated and examined.

But the most laborious part of the editor's undertaking has been in correcting his author's references. Cave had, in great measure from necessity, made use of inferior editions of the Fathers; of some of them, there were not at the time of his writing accurate imprints. In the present work, therefore, later and improved editions of the authors quoted or referred to, have been in many cases consulted throughout. The following table of editions used, will enable the studious reader to verify Cave's statements: many, however, are not here particularized, either because they are only once or twice referred to, or because, being quoted by chapter or section, or both, they may readily be found in the various editions.

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PREFACE.

It is not the least argument for the spiritual and incorporeal nature of human souls, and that they are acted by a higher principle than mere matter and motion, their boundless and inquisitive researches after knowledge. Our minds naturally grasp at a kind of omnisciency, and not content with the speculations of this or that particular science, hunt over the whole course of nature; nor are they satisfied with the present state of things, but pursue the notices of former ages, and are desirous to comprehend whatever transactions have been since time itself had a being. We endeavour to make up the shortness of our lives by the extent of our knowledge; and because we cannot see forwards and spy what lies concealed in the womb of futurity, we look back, and eagerly trace the footsteps of those times that went before us. Indeed, to be ignorant of what happened before we ourselves came into the world, is (as Cicero truly observes[a]) to be always children, and to deprive ourselves of what would at once entertain our minds with the highest pleasure, and add the greatest authority and advantage to us. The knowledge of antiquity, besides that it gratifies one of our noblest curiosities, improves our minds by the wisdom of preceding ages, acquaints us with the most remarkable occurrences of the Divine Providence, and presents us with the most apt

[a] In Oratore.

and proper rules and instances that may form us to a life of true philosophy and virtue; history (says Thucydides[b]) being nothing else but *φιλοσοφία ἐκ παραδειγμάτων*, "philosophy drawn from examples:" the one is a more gross and popular philosophy, the other a more subtle and refined history.

These considerations, together with a desire to perpetuate the memory of brave and great actions, gave birth to history, and obliged mankind to transmit the more observable passages, both of their own and foregoing times, to the notice of posterity. The first in this kind was Moses, the great prince and legislator of the Jewish nation, who from the creation of the world conveyed down the records of above two thousand five hundred and fifty years; the same course being more or less continued through all the periods of the Jewish state. Among the Babylonians they had their public archives, which were transcribed by Berosus, the priest of Belus, who composed the Chaldean history. The Egyptians were wont to record their memorable acts upon pillars in hieroglyphic notes and sacred characters, first begun (as they pretend) by Thouth, or the first of their Mercuries; out of which Manethos, their chief priest, collected his three books of Egyptian Dynasties, which he dedicated to Ptolemy Philadelphus, second of that line. The Phœnician history was st attempted by Sanchoniathon; digested partly out of the als of cities, partly out of the books kept in the temple, and municated to him by Jerombaal, priest of the god Jao: this dedicated to Abibalus king of Berytus; which Philo-Byblius, out the time of the emperor Adrian, translated into Greek.

[b] Ap. Dion. Halic. Περὶ λόγων ἐξετ.

The Greeks boast of the antiquity of Cadmus, Archilochus, and many others; though the most ancient of their historians now extant are Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon. Among the Romans, the foundations of history were laid in Annals; the public acts of every year being made up by the Pontifex Maximus, who kept them at his own house, that the people upon any emergency might resort to them for satisfaction. These were the *Annales Maximi*, and afforded excellent materials to those who afterwards wrote the history of that great and powerful commonwealth.

But that which of all others challenges the greatest regard, both as it more immediately concerns the present inquiry, and as it contains accounts of things relating to our biggest interests, is the history of the church. For herein, as in a glass, we have the true face of the church in its several ages represented to us. Here we find with what infinite care those divine records, which are the great instruments of our eternal happiness, have through the several periods of time been conveyed down to us; with what a mighty success religion has triumphed over the greatest oppositions, and spread its banners in the remotest corners of the world. With how incomparable a zeal good men have "contended earnestly for that faith which was once delivered to the saints;" with what a bitter and implacable fury the enemies of religion have set upon it, and how signally the Divine Providence has appeared in its preservation, and returned the mischief upon their own heads. Here we see the constant succession of bishops and the ministers of religion in their several stations, "the glorious company of the apostles, the goodly fellowship of the prophets, the noble army of martyrs;" who with the most

cheerful and composed minds have gone to heaven through the acutest torments.[c] In short, we have here the most admirable examples of a divine and religious life, of a real and unfeigned piety, a sincere and universal charity, a strict temperance and sobriety, an unconquerable patience and submission clearly represented to us. And the higher we go, the more illustrious are the instances of piety and virtue. For however later ages may have improved in knowledge, experience daily making new additions to arts and sciences, yet former times were most eminent for the practice and virtues of a holy life. The divine laws, while newly published, had a stronger influence upon the minds of men, and the spirit of religion was more active and vigorous, till men by degrees began to be debauched into that impiety and profaneness, that in these last times has overrun the world.

It were altogether needless and improper for me to consider what records there are of the state of the church before our Saviour's incarnation: it is sufficient to my purpose to inquire by what hands the first affairs of the Christian church have been transmitted to us. As for the life and death, the actions and miracles of our Saviour, and some of the first acts of his apostles, they are fully represented by the evangelical historians. Indeed, immediately after them we meet with nothing of this nature, the apostles and their immediate successors (as Eusebius observes[d]) not being at leisure to write many books, as being employed in ministeries greater and more immediately serviceable to the world. The first that engaged in this way was Hegesippus,

[c] Hist. Angl.

[d] Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 24.

"an ancient and apostolic man," (as he in Photius styles him,[e]) an Hebrew by descent, and born (as is probable) in Palestine. He flourished principally in the reign of M. Aurelius, and came to Rome in the time of Anicetus, where he resided till the time of Eleutherius. He wrote five books of ecclesiastical history, which he styled "Commentaries of the Acts of the Church;" wherein, in a plain and familiar style, he described the apostles' travels and preachings, the remarkable passages of the church, the several schisms, heresies, and persecutions that infested it, from our Lord's death till his own time. But these, alas! are long since lost. The next that succeeded in this province, though the first that reduced it to any exactness and perfection, was Eusebius. He was born in Palestine, about the later times of the emperor Gallienus, ordained presbyter by Agapius bishop of Cæsarea, who suffering about the end of the Dioclesian persecution, Eusebius succeeded in his see: a man of incomparable parts and learning, and of no less industry and diligence in searching out the records and antiquities of the church. After several other volumes in defence of the Christian cause against the assaults both of Jews and Gentiles, he set himself to write an ecclesiastical history; wherein he designed (as himself tells us[f]) to recount, from the birth of our Lord till his time, the most memorable transactions of the church, the apostolical successions, the first preachers and planters of the gospel, the bishops that presided in the most eminent sees, the most noted errors and heresies, the calamities that befell the Jewish state, the attempts and persecutions made against the Christians by the powers of the world, the torments and sufferings of the martyrs, and the

[e] Cod. CCXXXII.

[f] Lib. i. c. 1.

blessed and happy period that was put to them by the conversion of Constantine the Great. All this accordingly he digested in ten books, which he composed in the declining part of his life, and (as Valesius conjectures[s]) some years after the council of Nice, though when not long before he expressly affirms that history to have been written before the Nicene synod: how he can herein be excused from a palpable contradiction I cannot imagine. It is true Eusebius takes no notice of that council, but that might be partly because he designed to end in that joyful and prosperous scene of things which Constantine restored to the church, (as he himself plainly intimates in the beginning of his history,) which he was not willing to discompose with the controversies and contentions of that synod, according to the humour of all historians, who delight to shut up their histories with some happy and successful period; and partly because he intended to give some account of the affairs of that council in his book of the Life of Constantine the Great.

The materials wherewith he was furnished for this great undertaking, (which he complains were very small and inconsiderable,) were, besides Hegesippus's Commentaries, then extant, Africanus's Chronology, the books and writings of several fathers, the records of particular cities, ecclesiastical epistles written by the bishops of those times, and kept in the archives of their several churches, especially that famous library at Jerusalem, erected by Alexander bishop of that place, but chiefly the Acts of the Martyrs, which in those times were taken at large with great care and accuracy. These, at least a great many of them,

[s] Præfat. de Vit. et Script. Euseb.

Eusebius collected into one volume, under the title of *Ἀρχαίων Μαρτυρίων Συναγωγή*, "A Collection of the Ancient Martyrdoms," which he refers to at every turn; besides a particular narrative which he wrote (still extant as an appendage to the eighth book of his Ecclesiastical History) "concerning the Martyrs that suffered in Palestine." A great part of these acts, by the negligence and unfaithfulness of succeeding times, were interpolated and corrupted; especially in the darker and more undiscerning ages, when superstition had overspread the church, and when ignorance and interest conspired to fill the world with idle and improbable stories, and men took what liberty they pleased in venting the issue of their own brains, insomuch that some of the more wise and moderate even of the Roman communion have complained, not without a just resentment and indignation, that Laertius has written the lives of philosophers with more truth and chasteness than many have done the lives of the saints. Upon this account, a great and general outcry has been made against Simeon Metaphrastes, as the father of incredible legends, and one that has notoriously imposed upon the world by the most fabulous reports. Nay, some, to reflect the more disgrace upon him, have represented him as a petty schoolmaster: a charge, in my mind, rash and inconsiderate, and in a great measure groundless and uncharitable. He was a person of very considerable birth and fortunes, advanced to the highest honours and offices, one of the premier ministers of state, and, as is probable, great chancellor to the emperor of Constantinople; learned and eloquent above the common standard, and who, by the persuasions not only of some great ones of that time, (he flourished under Leo the Wise about the year 900, but principally wrote under the reign of his successor,) but of the emperor him-

self, was prevailed with to reduce the lives of the saints into order: to which end, by his own infinite labour, and the no less expenses of the emperor, he ransacked the libraries of the empire, till he had amassed a vast heap of volumes. The more ancient acts he passed without any considerable alteration, more than the correcting them by a collation of several copies, and the enlarging some circumstances to render them more plain and easy, as appears by comparing some that are extant at this day. Where lives were confused and immethodical, or written in a style rude and barbarous, he digested the history into order, and clothed it in more polite and elegant language: others, that were defective in neither, he left as they were, and gave them place amongst his own. So that I see no reason for so severe a censure, unless it were evident, that he took his accounts of things not from the writings of those that had gone before him, but forged them of his own head. Not to say, that things have been made much worse by translations, seldom appearing in any but the dress of the Latin church, and that many lives are laid at his door, of which he never was the father, it being usual with some, when they met with the life of a saint, the author whereof they knew not, presently to fasten it upon Metaphrastes. But to return to Eusebius, from whom we have digressed.

His ecclesiastical history, the almost only remaining records of the ancient church, deserves a just esteem and veneration, without which those very fragments of antiquity had been lost, which by this means have escaped the common shipwreck. And indeed St. Hierom, Nicephorus, and the rest, do not only build upon his foundation, but almost entirely derive their materials from him. As for Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and the

later historians, they relate to times without the limits of my present business, generally conveying down little more than the history of their own times, the church history of those more early ages being either quite neglected, or very negligently managed. The first that to any purpose broke the ice after the Reformation, were the centuriators of Magdeburg, a combination of learned and industrious men, the chief of whom were John Wigandus, Matth. Judex, Basilius Faber, Andreas Corvinus, but especially Matth. Flaccius Illyricus, who was the very soul of the undertaking. They set themselves to traverse the writings of the fathers, and all the ancient monuments of the church, collecting whatever made to their purpose, which with indefatigable pains they digested into an ecclesiastic history. This they divided into centuries, and each century into fifteen chapters, into each of which, as into its proper classes and repository, they reduced whatever concerned the propagation of religion, the peace or persecutions of the Christians, the doctrines of the church, and the heresies that arose in it; the rites and ceremonies, the government, schisms, councils, bishops, and persons noted either for religion or learning; heretics, martyrs, miracles, the state of the Jews, the religion of "them that were without," and the political revolutions of that age: a method accurate and useful, and which administers to a very distinct and particular understanding the affairs of the church. The four first centuries were finished in the city of Magdeburg, the rest elsewhere: a work of prodigious diligence and singular use. True it is, that it labours under some faults and imperfections, and is chargeable with considerable errors and mistakes. And no wonder: for besides that the persons themselves may be supposed to have been sometimes betrayed into an ἀμετρία τῆς ἀνθολκῆς, by

the heats and contentions of those times, it was the first attempt in this kind, and which never passed the emendations of a second review; an undertaking vast and diffusive, and engaged in while books were yet more scarce and less correct. Accordingly they modestly enough confess,[h] that they rather attempted a delineation of church-history, than one that was complete and absolute, desiring only to minister opportunity to those who were able and willing to furnish out one more entire and perfect. And yet take it with all the faults and disadvantages that can be charged upon it, and they bear no proportion to the usefulness and excellency of the thing itself.

No sooner did this work come abroad, but it made a loud noise and bustle at Rome, as wherein the corruptions and innovations of that church were sufficiently exposed and laid open to the world. Accordingly it was necessary that an antidote should be provided against it. For which purpose, Philip Nereus (who had lately founded the oratorian order at Rome) commands Baronius, then a very young man, and newly entered into the congregation, to undertake it; and in order thereunto daily to read nothing but ecclesiastical lectures in the oratory. This course he held for thirty years together, seven several times going over the history of the church. Thus trained up, and abundantly furnished with fit materials, he sets upon the work itself, which he disposed by way of Annals, comprising the affairs of the whole Christian world in the orderly series and succession of every year: a method much more natural and historical than that of the Centuries: a noble design, and which it were injustice

[h] Præfat. in Hist. Eccles. præfix. Cent. i.

to defraud of its due praise and commendation, as wherein, besides whatever occurrences that concern the state of the church, reduced (as far as his skill in chronology could enable him) under their proper periods, he has brought to light many passages of the ancients not known before, peculiarly advantaged herein by the many noble libraries that are at Rome: a monument of incredible pains and labour, as which, besides the difficulties of the thing itself, was entirely carried on by his single endeavours, and written all with his own hand, and that too in the midst of infinite avocations, the distractions of a parish-cure, the private affairs of his own oratory, preaching, hearing confessions, writing other books, not to mention the very troublesome though honourable offices and employments which in the course of the work were heaped upon him. In short, a work it was by which he had infinitely more obliged the world than can be well expressed, had he managed it with as much faithfulness and impartiality as he has done with learning and industry. But, alas, too evident it is, that he designed not so much the advancement of truth, as the honour and interest of a cause, and therefore drew the face of the ancient church, not as antiquity truly represents it, but according to the present form and complexion of the church of Rome, forcing every thing to look that way, to justify the traditions and practices, and to exalt the supereminent power and grandeur of that church, making both the sceptre and the crosier stoop to the triple-crown. This is that that runs almost through every page; and indeed both he himself,[i] and the writer of his Life,[k] more than once expressly affirm, that

[i] Epist. Ded. ad. Sixt. V. vol. i. Annal. præfix.

[k] Hier. Barnab. de vit. Baron. l. i. c. 18, 19.

his design was to defend the traditions, and to preserve the dignity of that church against the late innovators, and the labours of the Magdeburgensian centuriators, and that the opposing of them was the occasion of that work. So fatally does partiality and the interest of a cause spoil the most brave and generous undertakings.

What has been hitherto prefaced, the reader, I hope, will not censure as an unprofitable digression, nor think it altogether unsuitable to the present work, whereof it is like he will expect some short account. Being some time since engaged, I know not how, in searching after the antiquities of the apostolic age, I was then strongly importuned to have carried on the design for some of the succeeding ages. This I then wholly laid aside, without any further thoughts of reassuming it. For experience had made me sufficiently sensible of the difficulty of the thing, and I well foresaw how almost impossible it was to be managed to any tolerable satisfaction; so small and inconsiderable, so broken and imperfect are the accounts that are left us of those early times. Notwithstanding which, I have once more suffered myself to be engaged in it, and have endeavoured to hunt out and gather together those ruins of primitive story that yet remain, that I might do what honour I was able to the memory of those brave and worthy men, who were so instrumental to plant Christianity in the world, to seal it with their blood, and to oblige posterity by those excellent monuments of learning and piety which they left behind them. I have bounded my account within the first three hundred years, notwithstanding the barrenness and obscurity of those ages of the church. Had I consulted my own ease or credit, I should have commenced my design

from that time which is the period of my present undertaking, viz. the following *sæculum*, when Christianity became the religion of the empire, and the records of the church furnish us with large and plentiful materials for such a work. But I confess my humour and inclination led me to the first and best ages of religion, the memoirs whereof I have picked up, and thereby enabled myself to draw the lineaments of as many of those apostolical persons, as concerning whom I could retrieve any considerable notices and accounts of things. With what success, the reader must judge: with whom, what entertainment it will find, I know not, nor am I much solicitous. I have done what I could, and am not conscious to myself that I have been wanting in any point either of fidelity or care. If there be fewer persons here described than the space of almost three hundred years may seem to promise, and less said concerning some of them than the reader does expect, he will, I presume, be more just and charitable than to charge it upon me, but rather impute it to the unhappy fate of so many ancient records as have been lost through the carelessness and unfaithfulness of succeeding times. As far as my mean abilities do reach, and the nature of the thing will admit, I have endeavoured the reader's satisfaction; and though I pretend not to present him an exact church-history of those times, yet I think I may without vanity assure him, that there is scarce any material passage of church-antiquity of which, in some of these Lives, he will not find a competent and reasonable account. Nor is the history of those ages maimed and lame only in its main limbs and parts, but (what is greatly to be bewailed) purblind and defective in its eyes; I mean, confused and uncertain in point of chronology. The greatest part of what we have is from Eusebius, in whose

account of times some things are false, more uncertain, and the whole the worse for passing through other hands after his. Indeed, next to the recovering the lost portions of antiquity, I know nothing would be more acceptable than the setting right the disjointed frame of those times: a cure which we hope for shortly from a very able hand. In the mean time, for my own part, and so far as may be useful to the purposes of the following papers, I have, by the best measures I could take in some haste, drawn up a chronology of these three ages, which though it pretends not to the utmost exactness and accuracy that is due to a matter of this nature, yet it will serve however to give a quick and present prospect of things, and to shew the connexure and concurrence of ecclesiastic affairs with the times of the Roman empire. So far as I follow Eusebius, I principally rely upon the accounts given in his history, which being written after his Chronicon, may be supposed the issue of his more exact researches, and to have passed the judgment of his riper and more considering thoughts. And perhaps the reader will say, (and I confess I am somewhat of his mind,) had I observed the same rule towards these papers, he had never been troubled with them. But that is too late now to be recalled; and it is folly to bewail what is impossible to be remedied.

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LIVES

OF THE MOST EMINENT

FATHERS OF THE CHURCH

THAT FLOURISHED IN THE

FIRST FOUR CENTURIES.

INTRODUCTION.

THE several periods of the three first ages. Our Lord's coming, and the seasonableness of it for the propagation of the gospel. His entrance upon his prophetic office, and the sum of his ministry. The success of his doctrine, and the several places where he preached. The story of Agbarus not altogether improbable. Our Lord's death. What attestation given to the passages concerning Christ by heathen writers. The testimony of Tacitus. Pilate's relation sent to Tiberius. The Acts of Pilate what. Pilate's letter now extant, spurious. The apostles entering upon their commission, and first acts after our Lord's ascension. How long they continued in Judea. Their dispersion to preach in the Gentile provinces, and the success of it. The state of the church after the apostolic age. The mighty progress of Christianity. The numbers and quality of its converts. Its speedy and incredible success in all countries, noted out of the writers of those times. The early conversion of Britain to Christianity. The general declension of Paganism. The silence and ceasing of their oracles. This acknowledged by Porphyry to be the effect of the Christian religion appearing in the world. A great argument of its truth and divinity. The means contributing to the success of Christianity. The miraculous powers then resident in the church. This proved at large out of the primitive writers. The great learning and abilities of many of the church's champions. The most eminent of the Christian apologists. The principal of them that engaged against the heresies of those times. Others renowned for other parts of learning. The indefatigable zeal and industry used in the propagation of Christianity. Instructing and catechizing new converts. Schools erected. Travelling to preach in all parts of the world. The admirable lives of the ancient Christians. The singular efficacy of the Christian doctrine upon the minds of men. A holy life the most acceptable sacrifice. Their incomparable patience and constancy under sufferings. A brief survey of the ten Persecutions. The first begun by Nero. His brutish extravagances, and inhuman cruelties. His burning Rome, and the dreadfulness of that conflagration. This charged upon the Christians, and their several kinds of punishment noted out of Tacitus. The chief of them that suffered. The Persecution under Domitian. The vices of that prince. The cruel usage of St. John. The third begun by Trajan. His character. His proceeding against the Christians as illegal societies. Pliny's letter to Trajan concerning the Christians, with the emperor's answer. Adrian, Trajan's successor; a mixture in him of vice and virtue. His persecuting the Christians. This the fourth Persecution. The mitigation of it, and its breaking out again under Antoninus Pius. The excellent temper and learning of M. Aurelius. The fifth Persecution raised by him. Its fierceness in the East, at Rome, especially in France; the most eminent that suffered there. The emperor's victory in his German wars gained by the Christians' prayers. Severus's temper: his cruelty towards the Christians. The chief of the martyrs under the sixth Persecution. Maximinus's immoderate ambition and barbarous cruelty. The author of the seventh Persecution. This not universal. The common evils and calamities charged upon the Christians. Decius the eighth persecutor; otherwise an excellent prince. The

violence of this Persecution, and the most noted sufferers. The foundations of monachism when laid. The ninth Persecution, and its rage under Valerian. The most eminent martyrs. The severe punishment of Valerian: his miserable usage by the Persian king. The tenth Persecution begun under Dioclesian, and when. The fierceness and cruelty of that time. The admirable carriage and resolution of the Christians under all these sufferings. The proper influence of this argument to convince the world. The whole concluded with Lactantius's excellent reasonings to this purpose.

I. The state of the Christian church in the three first ages of it may be considered under a threefold period: as it was first planted and established by our Lord himself during his residence in the world; as it was enlarged and propagated by the apostles and first missionaries of the Christian faith; and as it grew up and prospered from the apostolic age till the times of Constantine, when the empire submitted itself to Christianity. God, who in former times was pleased by various methods of revelation to convey his will to mankind, "hath in these last days spoken to us by his Son." For the great blessing of the promised seed after a long succession of several ages being come to its just maturity and perfection, God was resolved "to perform the mercy promised to the fathers, and to remember his holy covenant, the oath which he sware to our father Abraham." Accordingly, "In the fulness of time God sent his Son." It was in the declining part of Augustus's reign, when this great Ambassador arrived from heaven, to publish to the world the glad tidings of salvation. A period of time (as [a]Origen observes) wisely ordered by the divine providence. For the Roman empire being now in the highest pitch of its grandeur, all its parts united under a monarchical government, and an universal peace spread over all the provinces of the empire, that had opened a way to a free and uninterrupted commerce with all nations, a smoother and speedier passage was hereby prepared for the publishing the doctrine of the gospel, which the apostles and first preachers of religion might with the greater ease and security carry up and down to all quarters of the world. As for the Jews, their minds were awakened about this time with busy expectations of their Messiah's coming: and no sooner was the birth of the holy Jesus proclaimed by the arrival of the eastern magi, who came to pay homage to him, but Jerusalem was filled

[a] Contr. Cels. l. ii. c. 30. vol. i. p. 412.

with noise and tumult, the Sanhedrin was convened, and consulted by Herod, who, jealous of his late gotten sovereignty, was resolved to dispatch this new competitor out of the way. Deluded in his hopes of discovery by the magi, he betakes himself to acts of open force and cruelty, commanding all infants under two years old to be put to death, and among them it seems his own son, which made [b]Augustus pleasantly say, (alluding to the Jewish custom of abstaining from swine's flesh,) "It is better to be Herod's hog than his son." But the providence of God secured the holy infant, by timely admonishing his parents to retire into Egypt, where they remained till the death of Herod, which happening not long after, they returned.

II. Near thirty years our Lord remained obscure under the retirements of a private life, applying himself (as the ancients tell us, and the evangelical history plainly intimates) to Joseph's employment, the trade of a carpenter. So little patronage did he give to an idle unaccountable course of life. But now he was called out of his shades and solitudes, and publicly owned to be that person, whom God had sent to be the great prophet of his church. This was done at his baptism, when the Holy Ghost in a visible shape descended upon him, and God by an audible voice testified of him, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." Accordingly he set himself to declare the counsels of God, "going about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom." He particularly explained the moral law, and restored it to its just authority and dominion over the minds of men, redeeming it from those corrupt and perverse interpretations which the masters of the Jewish church had put upon it. He next insinuated the abrogation of the Mosaic economy, to which he was sent to put a period, to enlarge the bounds of salvation, and admit both Jew and Gentile to terms of mercy: that he came as a mediator between God and man, to reconcile the world to the favour of heaven by his death and sufferings, and to propound pardon of sin and eternal life to all that by an hearty belief, a sincere repentance, and an holy life, were willing to embrace and entertain it. This was the sum of the doctrine which he preached every where, as opportunity and occasion led him, and which he did not impose upon the world merely upon

[b] Macrob. Saturnal. l. ii. c. 4.

the account of his own authority and power, or beg a precarious entertainment of it; he did not tell men they must believe him, because he said he came from God, and had his warrant and commission to instruct and reform the world, but gave them the most satisfactory and convictive evidence, by doing such miracles as were beyond all powers and contrivances either of art or nature, whereby he unanswerably demonstrated, that "he was a teacher come from God, in that no man could do those miracles which he did, except God were with him." And because he himself was in a little time to return back to heaven, he ordained twelve, whom he called apostles, as his immediate delegates and vicegerents, to whom he deputed his authority and power, furnished them with miraculous gifts, and left them to carry on that excellent religion which he himself had begun, to whose assistance he joined seventy disciples, as ordinary coadjutors and companions to them. Their commission for the present was limited to Palestine, and they sent out only "to seek and to save the lost sheep of the house of Israel."

III. How great the success of our Saviour's ministry was, may be guessed from that complaint of the Pharisees, "Behold the world is gone after him;"[c] people from all parts in such vast multitudes flocking after him, that they gave him not time for necessary solitude and retirement. Indeed he "went about doing good, preaching the word throughout all Judea, and healing all that were possessed of the devil." The seat of his ordinary abode was Galilee, residing for the most part (says one of the ancients[d]) in Galilee of the Gentiles, that he might there sow and reap the first fruits of the calling of the Gentiles. We usually find him preaching at Nazareth, at Cana, at Corazin and Bethsaida, and the cities about the sea of Tiberias, but especially at Capernaum, the metropolis of the province, a place of great commerce and traffic. He often visited Judea and the parts about Jerusalem, whither he was wont to go up at the paschal solemnities, and some of the greater festivals, that so the general concourse of people at those times might minister the fitter opportunity to spread the net, and to communicate and impart his doctrine to them. Nor did he, who was to be a common Saviour, and came to break down the partition-wall, disdain to converse with the Samaritans, so contemptible and hateful to

[c] John xii. 19. [d] Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. l. ix. p. 439.

the Jews. In Sychar, not far from Samaria, he freely preached, and gained most of the inhabitants of that city to be proselytes to his doctrine. He travelled up and down the towns and villages of Cesarea Philippi, and went into the borders of Tyre and Sidon, and through the midst of the coasts of Decapolis, and where he could not come, the renown of him spread itself, bringing him disciples, and followers from all quarters. Indeed "his fame went throughout all Syria, and there followed him great multitudes of people from Galilee, Judea, Decapolis, Idumæa, from beyond Jordan, and from Tyre and Sidon." Nay, might we believe the story so solemnly reported by Eusebius[e] and the ancients, (and excepting the silence of the evangelical historians, who recorded only some of the actions and passages concerning our Saviour, I know no wise argument against it,) Agbarus, prince of Edessa beyond Euphrates, having heard of the fame of our Saviour's miracles, by letters humbly besought him to come over to him; whose letter, together with our Lord's answer, are extant in Eusebius, there being nothing in the letters themselves that may justly shake their credit and authority, with much more to this purpose, transcribed (as he tells us) out of the records of that city, and by him translated out of Syriac into Greek, which may give us some account why none of the ancients before him make any mention of this affair, being generally strangers to the language, the customs, and antiquities of those eastern countries.

IV. Our Lord having spent somewhat more than three years in the public exercise of his ministry, kept his last passover with his apostles; which done, he instituted the sacramental supper, consigning it to his church as the standing memorial of his death, and the seal of the evangelical covenant, as he appointed baptism to be the federal rite of initiation, and the public *tessera* or badge of those that should profess his religion. And now the fatal hour was at hand: being betrayed by the treachery of one of his own apostles, he was apprehended by the officers and brought before the public tribunals. Heavy were the crimes charged upon him, but as false as spiteful; the two main articles of the charge were blasphemy against God, and treason against the emperor: and though they were not able to make them good by any tolerable pretence of proof, yet did they con-

[e] Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 13.

demn and execute him upon the cross, several of themselves vindicating his innocency, that he was a "righteous man," and "the Son of God." The third day after his interment he rose again, appeared to and conversed with his disciples and followers, and having taken care of the affairs of his church, given a larger commission, and fuller instructions to his apostles, he took his leave of them, and visibly ascended into heaven, and "sat down on the right hand of God, as head over all things to the church, angels, authorities, and powers being made subject unto him."

V. The faith of these passages concerning our Saviour, are not only secured to us by the report of the evangelical historians, and that justified by eye-witnesses, the evidence of miracles, and the successive and uncontrolled consent of all ages of the church, but (as to the substance of them) by the plain confession of heathen writers, and the enemies of Christianity. [f]Tacitus tells us, that the author of this religion was Christ, who under the reign of Tiberius was put to death by Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judea: whereby though this detestable superstition was suppressed for the present, yet did it break out again, spreading itself not only through Judea, the fountain of the mischief, but in the very city of Rome itself, where whatever is wicked and shameful meets together, and is greedily advanced into reputation. [g]Eusebius assures us, that after our Lord's ascension, Pilate, according to custom, sent an account of him to the emperor: which Tiberius brought before the senate, but they rejected it under pretence that cognizance had been taken of it before it came to them; it being a fundamental law of the Roman state, that no new god could be taken in without the decree of the senate; but that however Tiberius continued his good thoughts of Christ, and kindness to the Christians. For this he cites the testimony of Tertullian, who in his [h]Apology presented to the Roman powers affirms, that Tiberius, in whose time the Christian religion entered into the world, having received an account from Pilate out of Palestine in Syria concerning the truth of that divinity that was there, brought it to the senate with the prerogative of his own vote: but that the senate, because they had not before approved of it, would not admit it; however the emperor continued of the same mind, and

[f] Annal. l. xv. c. 44.
[g] Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 2. vid. Oros. adv. Pag. l. vii. c. 4.
[h] Apol. c. 5. et c. 21.

threatened punishment to them that accused the Christians. And before Tertullian, Justin Martyr,[i] speaking concerning the death and sufferings of our Saviour, tells the emperors, that they might satisfy themselves in the truth of these things from the Acts written under Pontius Pilate; it being customary not only at Rome to keep the Acts of the senate and the people, but for the governors of provinces to keep account of what memorable things happened in their government, the Acts whereof they transmitted to the emperor. And thus did Pilate during the procuratorship of his province. How long these Acts remained in being, I know not: but in the controversy about Easter, we find the Quartodecimans[k] justifying the day on which they observed it from the Acts of Pilate, wherein they gloried that they had found the truth. Whether these were the Acts of Pilate to which Justin appealed, or rather those Acts of Pilate drawn up and published by the command of [l] Maximinus, Diocletian's successor, in disparagement of our Lord and his religion, is uncertain, but the latter of the two far more probable. However Pilate's letter to Tiberius, (or as he is there called Claudius,) at this day extant in the Anacephalæosis[m] of the younger Egesippus, is of no great credit, though that author challenges greater antiquity than some allow him, being probably contemporary with St. Ambrose, and by many, from the great conformity of style and phrase, thought to be St. Ambrose himself, who with some few additions compiled it out of Josephus. But then it is to be considered, whether that Anacephalæosis be done by the same, or (which is most probable) by a much later hand. Some other particular passages concerning our Saviour are taken notice of by Gentile writers, the appearance of the star by Calcidius, the murder of the infants by Macrobius, the eclipse at our Saviour's passion by Phlegon Trallianus, (not to speak of his miracles frequently acknowledged by Celsus, Julian, and Porphyry,) which I shall not insist upon.

VI. Immediately after our Lord's ascension (from whence we date the next period of the church) the apostles began to execute the powers intrusted with them. They presently filled up Judas's vacancy by the election of a new apostle, "the lot falling upon Matthias, and he was numbered with the eleven

[i] Apol. i. c. 35.
[l] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. ix. c. 5.
[k] Epiph. Hæres. xxx. sive L. vol. i. p. 419.
[m] Ad calcem lib. de Excid. urb. Hieros.

apostles." Being next endued with power from on high, (as our Lord had promised them,) furnished with the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost, they set themselves to preach in places of the greatest concourse, and to the faces of their greatest enemies. They who but a while before fled at the first approach of danger, now boldly plead the cause of their crucified Master, with the immediate hazard of their lives. And that nothing might interrupt them in this employment, they instituted the office of deacons, who might attend the inferior services of the church while they devoted themselves to what was more immediately necessary to the good of souls. By which prudent course religion got ground apace, and innumerable converts were daily added to the faith: till a persecution arising upon St. Stephen's martyrdom, banished the church out of Jerusalem, though this also proved its advantage in the event and issue, Christianity being by this means the sooner spread up and down the neighbour countries. The apostles, notwithstanding the rage of the persecution, remained still at Jerusalem, only now and then dispatching some few of their number to confirm and settle the plantations, and to propagate the faith, as the necessities of the church required. And thus they continued for near twelve years together, our Lord himself having commanded them not to depart Jerusalem and the parts thereabouts, till twelve years after his ascension, as the ancient tradition mentioned both by Apollonius[n] and Clemens Alexandrinus[o] informs us. And now they thought it high time to apply themselves to the full execution of that commission which Christ had given them, "to go teach and baptize all nations." Accordingly having settled the general affairs and concernments of the church, they betook themselves to the several provinces of the Gentile world, preaching the gospel to every nation under heaven, so that even in a literal sense "their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world." "Infinite multitudes of people in all cities and countries, (says Eusebius,[p]) like corn into a well-filled granary, being brought in by that grace of God that brings salvation. And they whose minds were heretofore distempered and overrun with the error and idolatry of their ancestors, were cured by the sermons and miracles of our Lord's disciples, and

[n] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 18. [o] Stromat. l. vi. c. 5. vid. Life of St. Peter, s. 11. n. 5.
[p] Eccl. Hist. l. ii. c. 3.

shaking off those chains of darkness and slavery which the merciless demons had put upon them, freely embraced and entertained the knowledge and service of the only true God, the great Creator of the world, whom they worshipped according to the holy rites and rules of that divine and wisely-contrived religion which our Saviour had introduced into the world." But concerning the apostles' travels, the success of their ministry, the places and countries to which they went, the churches they planted, their acts and martyrdoms for the faith, we have given an account in a work peculiar to that subject, so far as the records of those times have conveyed any material notices of things to us. It may suffice to observe, that God was pleased to continue St. John to a very great age beyond any of the rest, that he might superintend and cultivate, confirm and establish what they had planted, and be as a standing and lively oracle, to which they might from all parts have recourse in any considerable doubts and exigences of the church, and that he might seal and attest the truth of those things, which men of corrupt and perverse minds even then began to call in question.

VII. Hence then we pass on to survey the state of the church from the apostolic age till the times of Constantine, for the space of at least two hundred years. And under this period we shall principally remark two things. What progress the Christian religion made in the world. Secondly, what it was that contributed to so vast a growth and increase of it. That Christianity, from the nature of its precepts, the sublimeness of its principles, its contrariety to the established rites and religions of the world, was likely to find bad entertainment, and the fiercest opposition, could not but be obvious to every impartial considerer of things; which accordingly came to pass. For it met with all the discouragement, the secret undermining, and open assaults which malice and prejudice, wit and parts, learning and power were able to make upon it. Notwithstanding all which, it lift up its head, and prospered under the greatest oppositions. And the triumph of the Christian faith will appear the more considerable, whether we regard the number and quality of its converts, or the vast circumference to which it did extend and diffuse itself. Though it appeared under all manner of disadvantages to recommend itself, yet no sooner did it set up its standard, but persons from all parts, and of all kinds of principles and educations,

began to flock to it, so admirably affecting very many, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, (as Origen[q] tells Celsus,) and they both wise and unwise, that they contended for the truth of their religion even to the laying down their lives, a thing not known in any other profession in the world. And [r] elsewhere he challenges him to shew such an unspeakable multitude of Greeks and Barbarians reposing such a confidence in Æsculapius, as he could of those that had embraced the faith of the holy Jesus. And when Celsus[s] objected that Christianity was a clandestine religion, that sculked and crept up and down in corners; Origen answers, that the religion of the Christians was better known throughout the whole world, than the dictates of their best philosophers. Nor were they only mean and ignorant persons that thus came over, but (as Arnobius[t] observes) men of the acutest parts and learning; orators, grammarians, rhetoricians, lawyers, physicians, philosophers, despising their formerly-beloved sentiments, sat down here. Tertullian,[u] addressing himself to the Roman governors in behalf of the Christians, assures them, that although they were of no long standing, yet that they had filled all places of their dominions, their cities, islands, castles, corporations, councils, armies, tribes, companies, the palace, senate, and courts of judicature: that if they had a mind to revenge themselves, they need not betake themselves to clancular and sculking arts, their numbers were great enough to appear in open arms, having a party not in this or that province, but in all quarters of the world: nay, that naked as they were, they could be sufficiently revenged upon them; for should they but all agree to retire out of the Roman empire, the world would stand amazed at that solitude and desolation that would ensue upon it, and they would have more enemies than friends or citizens left among them. And he [x] bids president Scapula consider, that if he went on with the persecution, what he would do with those many thousands both of men and women, of all ranks and ages, that would readily offer themselves, what fires and swords he must have to dispatch them. Nor is this any more than what Pliny[y] himself confesses to the emperor, that the case of the

[q] Contr. Cels. l. i. c. 27. vol. i. p. 345.
[r] Ibid. l. iii. c. 24. vol. i. p. 461.
[s] Ibid. l. i. c. 7. vol. i. p. 325.
[t] Adv. Gent. l. ii. p. 21.
[u] Apol. c. 37.
[x] Ad Scapul. c. 5.
[y] Ad Traj. l. x. epist. 97.

Christians was a matter worthy of deliberation, especially by reason of the multitudes that were concerned, for that many of each sex, of every age and quality, were and must be called in question, this superstition having infected and overrun not the city only, but towns and countries, the temples and sacrifices being generally desolate and forsaken.

VIII. Nor was it thus only in some parts and provinces of the Roman empire, but in most nations and countries. Justin Martyr [z] tells the Jews, that whatever they might boast of the universality of their religion, there were many places of the world whither neither they nor it ever came: whereas there was no part of mankind, whether Greeks or Barbarians, or by what name soever they were called, even the most rude and unpolished nations, where prayers and thanksgivings were not made to the great Creator of the world through the name of the crucified Jesus. The same Bardesanes,[a] the Syrian, Justin's contemporary, affirms, that the followers of the Christian institution, though living in different parts of the world, and being very numerous in every climate and country, were yet all called by the name of Christians. So Lactantius;[b] the Christian law (says he) is entertained from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, where every sex, and age, and nation, and country does with one heart and soul worship God. If from generals we descend to particular places and countries, Irenæus,[c] who entered upon the see of Lyons, A. D. 179, affirms, that though there were different languages in the world, yet that the force of tradition (or that doctrine that had been delivered to the church) was but one and the same; that there were churches settled in Germany, Spain, France, in the East, in Egypt and Lybia, as well as in the middle of the world. Tertullian,[d] who probably wrote not above twenty years after Irenæus, gives us in a larger account. "Their sound," says he, "went through all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world. For in whom but Christ did all nations believe? Parthians, Medes, Elamites, the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Armenia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia, of Pontus, Asia, and Pamphylia, those who dwell in Egypt, Africa, and beyond Cyrene, strangers at Rome,

[z] Dial. cum Tryph. p. 345. [a] Lib. de Fat. ap. Euseb. præp. Evang. l. vi. c. 10. p. 279.
[b] De Justit. l. v. c. 13. p. 494. [c] Adv. Hæres. l. i. c. 3. p. 52.
[d] Adv. Judæos, c. 7. p. 189.

Jews at Jerusalem, and other nations; as also now the Getuli and the Mauri, the Spaniards and the Gauls, yea, and those places of Britain, which were unapproachable by the Roman armies, are yet subdued to Christ; the Sarmatæ also and the Daci, the Germans and the Scythians, together with many undiscovered countries, many islands and provinces unknown to us, which he professes himself unable to reckon up. In all which places (says he) the name of Christ reigns, as before whom the gates of all cities are set open, and to whom none are shut; before whom gates of brass fly open, and bars of iron are snapt asunder." To which Arnobius[e] adds the Indians, the Persians, the Seræ, and all the islands and provinces which are visited by the rising or setting sun, yea, and Rome itself, the empress of all.

IX. From Tertullian's account we have a most authentic testimony how early Christianity stretched itself over this other world, having before his time conquered the most rough and inaccessible parts of Britain to the banner of the cross, which may probably refer to the conversion of king Lucius, (the first Christian king that ever was,) a potent and considerable prince in this island, who embraced the Christian religion about the year 186, and sent a solemn embassy to Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, for some who might further instruct him and his people in the faith; who accordingly dispatched Faganus and Derwianus hither upon that errand. Not that this was the first time that the gospel made its way through the ὠκεανὸς ἀπέραντος, (as Clemens[f] calls the British ocean, and so the ancients constantly style it,) "the unpassable ocean, and those worlds which are beyond it;" that is, the Britannic islands: it had been here many years before, though probably stifled and overgrown with the ancient paganism and idolatry. St. Clemens[g] tells us of St. Paul, that he preached both in the East and West; and having instructed the whole world in righteousness, made his way to the utmost bounds of the West: by which he must either mean Spain, or more probably Britain, and it may be both. Accordingly Theodoret,[h] speaking of his coming into Spain, says, that besides that, he brought great advantage to the isles of the sea; and he reckons[i] the Cimbri and the Britains among the

[e] Lib. ii. p. 23.
[f] Epist. ad Corinth. p. 28.
[g] Ibid. p. 8.
[h] Comment. in Psal. 116
[i] De curand. Græcor. affect. Serm. ix. p. 125.

nations which the apostles (and he particularly mentions the tent-maker) converted to the Christian faith. If after all this it were necessary to enter into a more minute and particular disquisition, I might inquire, not only in what countries, but in what towns and cities in those countries, Christianity fixed itself, in what places episcopal sees were erected, and what succession of bishops are mentioned in the records of the church; but that this would not well consist with the designed shortness of this Introduction, and would be more perhaps than the reader's patience would allow.

X. The shadows of the night do not more naturally vanish at the rising of the sun, than the darkness of pagan idolatry and superstition fled before the light of the gospel; which the more it prevailed, the clearer it discovered the folly and impiety of their worship: their solemn rites appeared more trifling and ridiculous, their sacrifices more barbarous and inhuman, their demons were expelled by the meanest Christian, their oracles became mute and silent, and their very priests began to be ashamed of their magic charms and conjurations; and the more prudent and subtle heads among them, who stood up for the rites and solemnities of their religion, were forced to turn them into mystical and allegorical meanings, far enough either from the apprehension or intention of the vulgar. The truth is, the devil, who for so many ages had usurped an empire and tyranny over the souls of men, became more sensible every day that his kingdom shaked; and therefore sought, though in vain, by all ways to support and prop it up. Indeed, some time before our Saviour's incarnation, the most celebrated oracle at Delphos had lost its credit and reputation, as after his appearance in the world they sunk and declined every day; whereof their best writers universally complain, that their gods had forsaken their temples and oracular recesses, and had left the world in darkness and obscurity; and that their votaries did in vain solicit their counsels and answers. Plutarch, who lived under Trajan, wrote a particular tract (still extant) Concerning the Ceasing of Oracles, which he endeavours to resolve partly into natural, partly into moral, partly into political causes, though all his philosophy was too short to give a just and satisfactory account of it. One cause he assigns of it is, the death and departure of those demons, that heretofore presided over these oracles.

ficiently pleaded by the Christian apologists. That such miraculous powers were then ordinary in the church, we have the concurrent testimonies of all the first writers of it. Justin Martyr[l] tells the emperor and the senate, that our Lord was born for the subversion of the demons, which they might know from the very things done in their sight; for that very many who had been vexed and possessed by demons, throughout the world, and in this very city of theirs, whom all their exorcists and conjurers were not able to relieve, had been cured by several Christians through the name of Jesus that was crucified under Pontius Pilate; and that at this very time they still cured them, disarming and expelling the demons out of those whom they had possessed. The same he affirms in his discourse with Trypho[m] the Jew, more than once, that the devils trembled and stood in awe of the power of Christ; and to this day, being adjured by the name of Jesus Christ crucified under Pontius Pilate the procurator of Judea, they were obedient to Christians. Irenæus[n] assures us, that in his time the Christians, enabled by the grace of Christ, raised the dead, ejected demons and unclean spirits; the persons so dispossessed coming over to the church: others had visions and the gift of prophecy; others by imposition of hands healed the sick, and restored them to perfect health. But I am not able (says he) to reckon up the number of those gifts, which the church throughout the world, receiving from God, does every day freely exercise in the name of Jesus Christ crucified under Pontius Pilate, to the benefit of the world. Tertullian[o] challenges the Roman governors to let any possessed person be brought before their own tribunals, and they should see, that the spirit being commanded to speak by any Christian, should as truly confess himself to be a devil, as at other times he falsely boasted himself to be a god. And he tells Scapula,[p] that they rejected, disgraced, and expelled demons every day, as most could bear them witness. Origen[q] bids Celsus take notice, that whatever he might think of the reports which the gospel makes concerning our Saviour; yet that it was the great and magnificent work of Jesus, by his name to heal even to this day, whom God pleased; that he

[l] Apol. i. p. 45. [m] Dial. cum Tryph. p. 247, &c. p. 302.
[n] Adv. Hæres. l. ii. c. 56. p. 215; c. 57. p. 218. [o] Apol. c. 23. p. 22.
[p] Ad Scap. c. 2. p. 69. [q] Contr. Cels. l. ii. c. 48. vol. i. p. 422, 3.

'himself had seen many, who by having the name of God and Christ called over them, had been delivered from the greatest evils, frenzy and madness, and infinite other distempers, which neither men nor devils had been able to cure. What influence these miraculous effects had upon the world, he lets us know elsewhere. "The apostles of our Lord (says he[s]) without these miraculous powers would never have been able to have moved their auditors, nor persuaded them to desert the institutions of their country, and to embrace their new doctrine; and having once embraced it, to defend it even to death, in defiance of the greatest dangers. Yea, even to this day, the footsteps of that Holy Spirit, which appeared in the shape of a dove, are preserved among the Christians; they exorcise demons, perform many cures, and according to the will of God foresee and foretell things to come. At which though Celsus and his personated Jew may laugh, yet I affirm further, that many even against their inclinations have been brought over to the Christian religion, their former opposition of it being suddenly changed into a resolute maintaining of it unto death, after they have had visions communicated to them; several of which nature we ourselves have seen. And should we only reckon up those at which we ourselves have been present and beheld, it may be it would only make the infidels merry; supposing that we like themselves did forge and feign them. But God bears witness with my conscience, that I do not endeavour by falsely-contrived stories, but by various powerful instances to recommend the divine religion of the holy Jesus. More testimonies of this kind I could easily produce from Minucius Felix, Cyprian, Arnobius, and Lactantius, but that these are enough to my purpose.

XIII. Another advantage that exceedingly contributed to the triumph of Christianity, was the singular learning of many, who became champions to defend it: for it could not but be a mighty satisfaction, especially to men of ordinary capacities and mean employments, (which are the far greatest part of mankind,) to see persons of the most smart and subtile reasonings, of the most acute and refined understandings, and consequently not easily capable of being imposed upon by arts of sophistry and plausible stories, trampling upon their former sentiments and opinions, and not only entertaining the Christian faith, but defending it

[r] Contr. Cels. l. iii. c. 24. vol. i. p. 461.

[s] Ibid. l. i. c. 46. vol. i. p. 361.

against its most virulent opposers. It is true indeed the gospel at its first setting out was left to its own naked strength, and men of the most unpolished breeding made choice of to convey it to the world, that it might not seem to be an human artifice, or the success of it be ascribed to the parts and powers of man. But after that for an hundred years together it had approved itself to the world, and a sharper edge was set upon the malice and keenness of its adversaries, it was but proper to take in external helps to assist it. And herein the care of the divine providence was very remarkable, that as miracles became less common and frequent in the church, God was pleased to raise up, even from among the Gentiles themselves, men of profound abilities, and excellent learning, who might τοῖς οἰκείοις πτεροῖς βάλλειν, (as Julian[1] said of the Christians of his time,) beat them at their own weapons, and wound them with arrows drawn out of their own quiver; and it was high time to do so: for the Gentiles did not only attack the Christians and their religion by methods of cruelty, and by arts of insinuation, not only object what wit and subtilty could invent, to bear any shadow and pretence of reason, but load them with the blackest crimes, which nothing but the utmost malice and prejudice could ever suspect to be true. This gave occasion to the Christian apologists, and the first writers against the Gentiles, who by their learned and rational discourses assoiled the Christians from the things charged against them, justified the reasonableness, excellency, and divinity of their religion; and exposed the folly and falsehood, the brutishness and impiety, the absurd and trifling rites of the pagan worship; by which means prejudices were removed, and thousands brought over to the faith. In this way they that rendered themselves most renowned, and did greatest service to the Christian cause, were especially these: Quadratus bishop of Athens, and Aristides, formerly a famous philosopher of that city, a man wise and eloquent, dedicated each an Apologetic to the emperor Adrian: Justin the Martyr, besides several tracts against the Gentiles, wrote two Apologies; the first presented to Antoninus Pius, the second to M. Aurelius and the senate: about which time also Athenagoras presented his Apology to M. Aurelius and Aurelius Commodus;

[1] Theod. H. Eccl. l. iii. c. 8. p. 131.

not to mention his excellent discourse concerning the resurrection. To the same M. Aurelius, Melito bishop of Sardis exhibited his apologetic oration for the Christians: under this emperor also flourished Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis in Asia, and dedicated to him an incomparable discourse in defence of the Christian faith; besides five books which he wrote against the Gentiles, and two concerning the Truth. Not long after, Theophilus bishop of Antioch composed his three excellent books for the conviction of Autolycus: and Miltiades presented an Apology (probably) to the emperor Commodus. Tatian the Syrian, scholar to Justin Martyr, a man learned and eloquent, among other things wrote a book against the Gentiles, which sufficiently evidences his great abilities. Tertullian, a man of admirable learning, and the first of the Latins that appeared in this cause, under the reign of Severus, published his Apologetic, directed to the magistrates of the Roman empire; besides his books, "Ad Nationes," "De Idololatria," "Ad Scapulam," and many more. After him succeeded Origen, whose Eight Books against Celsus did not greater service to the Christian cause, than they did honour to himself. Minucius Felix, an eminent advocate at Rome, wrote a short, but most elegant Dialogue between Octavius and Cæcilius, which (as Lactantius long since observed) shews, how fit and able an advocate he would have been to assert the truth, had he wholly applied himself to it. About the time of Gallus and Volusian, Cyprian addresed himself in a discourse to Demetrian the proconsul of Africa, in behalf of the Christians and their religion, and published his tract "De Idolorum vanitate," which is nothing but an epitome of Minucius's Dialogue. Towards the close of that age, under Dioclesian, Arnobius taught rhetoric with great applause at Sicca in Africa; and being convinced of the truth of Christianity, could hardly make the Christians at first believe that he was real. In evidence therefore of his sincerity, he wrote seven books against the Gentiles, wherein he smartly and rationally pleads the Christian cause: as not long after his scholar Lactantius, who under Dioclesian professed rhetoric at Nicomedia, set himself to the composing several discourses in defence of the Christian, and subversion of the Gentile religion. A man witty and eloquent, but more happy in attacking his adversaries than in establishing the principles of his own religion, many whereof

he seems not very distinctly to have understood. To all these I may add Apollonius, a man versed in all kind of learning and philosophy; and (if St. Hierom say right) a senator of Rome, who in a set oration with so brave and generous a confidence eloquently pleaded his own, and the cause of Christianity before the senate itself; for which he suffered as a martyr in the reign of Commodus.

XIV. And as they thus defend Christianity on the one hand from the open assaults and calumnies of the Gentiles, so were they no less careful on the other to clear it from the errors and heresies wherewith men of perverse and evil minds sought to corrupt and poison it. And the chief of those that engaged in this way were these: Agrippa Castor, a man of great learning in the time of Adrian, wrote an accurate Refutation of Basilides and his Principles in twenty-four books. Theophilus of Antioch against Hermogenes and Marcion; Apollinaris, Philip bishop of Gortyna in Crete, Musanus, Modestus, Rhodon, Tatian's scholar, Miltiades, Apollonius, Serapion bishop of Antioch, and hundreds more, who engaged against the Marcionites, Montanists, and other heretics of those times. But the principal of all was Irenæus, who took to task the most noted heresies of those ages, and with incomparable industry and quickness of reasoning unravelled their principles, exposed their practices, refuted their errors, whereby (as he frequently intimates) many were reduced and recovered to the church. I might also mention several others, who though not known to have particularly adventured in either of these ways, are yet renowned for their excellent skill in all arts and sciences, whereby they became eminently useful to the church. Such (besides those whereof an account is given in the following work) were Dionysius bishop of Corinth, Bardesanes the Syrian, whose learning and eloquence were above the common standard, though he also wrote against almost all the heresies of the age he lived in. Ammonius the celebrated philosopher of Alexandria; Julius Africanus, a man peculiarly eminent for history and chronology; Dorotheus presbyter of Antioch, famous for his skill in Hebrew, as well as other parts of learning; Anatolius the Alexandrian, whom Eusebius magnifies so much as the most learned man and acute philosopher of his age, exquisitely skilled in arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, logic, physic, rhetoric, and indeed what not? Pierius

presbyter of Alexandria, an eloquent preacher, and so great a scholar, that he was commonly styled Origen Junior. But this is a field too large to proceed any further in, and therefore I stop here. By all which it is evident, what St. Hierom[v] remarks, how little reason Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian had to clamour against the Christians, as a rude and illiterate generation, who had no learning, no eloquence, or philosophy to recommend them.

XV. A third advantage that helped on the progress of Christianity, was the indefatigable zeal and industry used in the propagation of it. No stone was left unturned, no method unattempted, whereby they might reclaim men from error, and bring them over to the acknowledgment of the truth. Hence in an ancient inscription[w] said to be set up in Spain, to the honour of Nero, they are described under this character, QUI NOVAM GENERI HUM. SUPERSTITION. INCULCAB. "Those who inculcated and obtruded a new superstition upon mankind." Indeed they were infinitely zealous to gain proselytes to the best religion in the world. They preached it boldly, and prayed heartily for the conversion and reformation of mankind, solicited their neighbours that were yet strangers to the faith, instructed and informed new converts, and built them up on the most holy faith. Those that were of greater parts and eminency erected and instituted schools, where they publicly taught those that resorted to them, grounding them in the rudiments of the faith, and antidoting them both against heathens on the one side, and heretics on the other. Among us, (says Tatian,[x]) not only the rich and the wealthy learn our philosophy, but the poor are freely disciplined and instructed: we admit all that are willing to learn, whether they be old or young. And what the success was, he tells us a little after,[y] that all their virgins were sober and modest, and were wont to discourse concerning divine things, even while they were sitting at their distaffs. Nor did they content themselves only to do thus at home, many of them freely exposing themselves to all manner of hazards and hardships: no pains were thought great, no dangers considerable, no difficulties insuperable, that they might enlarge the bounds of the gospel, travelling into the most barbarous nations, and to

[v] S. Hieron. præf. ad Catalog. de script. Eccles.
[w] Ap. Gruter. Inscript. p. 238. N. ix.
[x] Orat. contr. Græc. p. 167.
[y] Ibid. p. 168.

the remotest corners of the world. "The divine and admirable disciples of the apostles (says [1]Eusebius) built up the superstructures of those churches, the foundations whereof the apostles had laid in all places where they came: they every where promoted the publication of the gospel, sowing the seeds of that heavenly doctrine throughout the whole world. For their minds being inflamed with the love of a more divine philosophy, according to our Lord's counsel, they distributed their estates to the poor; and leaving their own countries, took upon them the office of evangelists; preaching Christ, and delivering the evangelical writings to those who had not yet so much as heard of the Christian faith. And no sooner had they founded the faith in any foreign countries, and ordained guides and pastors, to whom they committed the care of those new plantations, but they presently betook themselves to other nations, ratifying their doctrine with the miraculous powers of that Divine Spirit that attended them: so that as soon as ever they began to preach, the people universally flocked to them, and cheerfully and heartily embraced the worship of the true God, the great Creator of the world." In the number of these evangelical missionaries, that were of the first apostolical succession, were Silas, Sylvanus, Crescens, Andronicus, Trophimus, Marcus, Aristarchus, &c. as afterwards Pantænus who went into India, Pothinus and Irenæus from Smyrna into France, each successively becoming bishop of Lyons, and infinite others mentioned in the histories and martyrologies of the church, who "counted not their lives to be dear unto them, so that they might finish their course with joy," and make known the mysteries of the gospel to the ends of the earth.

XVI. Fourthly, Christianity recommended itself to the world by the admirable lives of its professors, which were so truly consonant to all the laws of virtue and goodness, as could not but reconcile the wiser and more unprejudiced part of the Gentile world to a better opinion of it, and vindicate it from those absurd and senseless cavils that were made against it. For when they saw Christians every where so seriously devout and pious, so incomparably chaste and sober, of such humble and mortified tempers, so strictly just and righteous, so kind and charitable, not to themselves only, but to all mankind, they

[1] H. Eccles. l. iii. c. 37. p. 109.

concluded there must be something more than human in it: as indeed no argument is so convictive, as a demonstration from experience. Their singular piety, and the discipline of their manners, weighed down all the disadvantages they were under. The divine and most admirable apostles of Christ, (says Eusebius,[a]) how rude soever they were in speech, were yet τὸν βίον ἄκρως κεκαθαρμένοι, καὶ ἀρετῇ πάσῃ τὰς ψυχὰς κεκοσμημένοι, "of the most pure and holy lives, and had their minds adorned with all sorts of virtue." And such generally were the Christians of the succeeding ages; they did not entertain the world with a parcel of good words and a plausible story, but shewed their faith by their works, and proved the divinity of their religion by the heavenliness of their lives. We (says the Christian in Minucius Felix[b]) despise the pride and superciliousness of philosophers, whom we know to be debauched persons, and always eloquent against those vices of which themselves are most guilty. For we measure not wisdom by men's garbs and habits, but by their mind and manners; nor do we speak great things so much as live them, glorying that we have attained what they earnestly sought, but could never find. Christians were then the only persons that really were what they pretended to, men heartily reformed from vice to virtue: "Being persuaded (as Justin Martyr[c] tells the emperors) by the word, we have renounced the demons, and through the Son worship the only and unbegotten Deity: and we who heretofore took pleasure in adulteries, do now embrace the strictest chastity; and who were addicted to magic arts, have devoted ourselves to the benign and immortal God: we who valued estate and riches before all things in the world, do now cast what we have in common, distributing to every one according to his need: we who by hatred and slaughters mutually raged against each other, and refused to sit at the same fire with those who were not of our own tribe, since Christ's appearing in the world, familiarly converse together, pray for our enemies, and for the conversion of those that unjustly hate us, endeavouring to persuade them to live according to the excellent precepts of Christ, that so they may have just ground to hope for the same rewards with us from the great judge of the world."[d] Indeed strange was the efficacy of

[a] Ubi supr. c. 24. p. 94. [b] M. Fæl. Dial. non longe a fin. p. 31. [c] Apol. ii. p. 61.
[d] Tertul. Apol. c. 3. p. 4. ad Nation. c. 1. p. 41. Orig. contr. Cels. l. i. p. 9, 15, 21,

the Christian doctrine over the minds of men, which the Christian apologists at every turn plead as uncontrolable evidence of their religion; that it made all sorts of persons that complied with it chaste and temperate, quiet and peaceable, meek and modest, and afraid of the least appearance and colour of what was evil.[e] When the heathens derided them for the mean and unpompous solemnities of their religion, they universally declared, that God respected no man for any external excellencies or advantages, it was the pure and the holy soul he delighted in; that he stood in no need of blood or smoke, perfumes and incense; that the greatest and best sacrifice was to offer up a mind truly devoted to him: that meekness and kindness, an humble heart, and an innocent life, was the sacrifice with which God was well pleased, and infinitely beyond all holocausts and oblations; that a pious and devout mind was the fittest temple for God to dwell in, and that to do one's duty, to abstain from sin, to be intent upon the offices and ministrations of prayer and praise, is the truest festival; yea, that the whole life of a good man is nothing else but a holy and festival solemnity. This was the religion of Christians then, and it rendered their profession amiable and venerable to the world; and forced many times its most violent opposers to fall down, and say, "that God was in them of a truth." But the less of this argument is said here, a full account having been given of it in a work peculiar to this subject.

XVII. Fifthly, the disciples of this holy and excellent religion gained innumerable proselytes to their party by their patience and constancy under sufferings. They were immutably resolved to maintain their station, notwithstanding all the attempts made to beat them from it. They entertained the fiercest threatenings with an unshaken mind, and fearlessly beheld the racks and engines prepared for them; they laughed at torments, and courted flames, and went out to meet death in its blackest dress: they died rejoicing, and triumphed in the

36, 50, 53. l. ii. p. 61, 85, 88, 110. l. iii. p. 128, 147, 152, 157. l. iv. p. 167. l. vi. p. 306. l. vii. p. 364. l. viii. p. 409, et alibi passim. Lactant. l. iii. c. 26. p. 328. l. iv. c. 3. p. 351.

[e] J. Mort. Orat. ad Græc. p. 40. Athenag. Legat. p. 13. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. vii. p. 706, 709, 714, 719, 728. Minuc. Fæl. p. 26, 30. Arnob. adv. Gent. l. vii. p. 104. Orig. contr. Cels. l. viii. p. 385, 389, 392. Lactant. l. i. c. 20. p. 108. l. vi. c. 1. p. 540. c. 24. p. 636. Epitom. c. 2. p. 736.

midst of the greatest tortures; which happening for some ages almost every day, could not but convince their enemies that they were in good earnest, that they heartily believed their religion to be true, and that there must be a divine and supernatural power going along with it, that could support them under it; which Justin Martyr confesses, was one main inducement of his conversion to Christianity. What particular methods of cruelty were used towards the primitive Christians, and with how brave and generous a patience, with what evenness and tranquillity of mind they bore up under the heaviest and acutest torments, we have sufficiently declared in another place;[f] and therefore shall here only take a short survey of those ten famous Persecutions, that so eminently exercised the faith and patience of the primitive saints, and then collect the force of the argument resulting from it. And this the rather, because it will present us with the best prospect of the state of the church in those early ages of it. As to the particular dates and periods of some of these persecutions, different accounts are assigned by Sulpitius Severus, Eusebius, Orosius, Hierom, and others; we shall follow that which shall appear to be most likely and probable.

XVIII. The first that raised a general persecution against the Christians, was Nero, as Tertullian[g] tells the Gentiles; and for the truth of it, refers them to their own public archives and records: a prince of that wild and ungovernable temper, of such brutish and extravagant manners, that their own writers scruple not to style him, a beast in human shape, and the very monster of mankind. He was guilty of the most unbounded pride and ambition, drunkenness, luxury and all manner of debauchery, sodomy and incest, which he attempted to commit with his own mother. But cruelty seemed to predominate among his other vices; besides infinite others, he dispatched the greatest part of the senate, put to death his tutor Seneca and his wife, Lucan the poet; nay, violated all the laws of nature, in falling upon his own near relations: he was privy to, if not guilty of the death of his father Claudius; killed his two wives, Octavia and Poppæa, and murdered Antonia, because refusing to succeed in their bed; he poisoned his brother Britannicus: and to complete all his villanies, fell next upon his own mother Agrippina, whom

[f] Prim. Christ. part ii. ch. 7. [g] Apol. c. 5. p. 6.

he hated for her free reproving his looseness and extravagancy; and having first spoiled her of all public honors, and caused her to be openly disgraced and derided, then thrice attempted her life by poison, he at last sent an assassin to stab her. And the tradition then went, that not content to do this, he himself came and beheld her naked corpse, contemplating and handling its several parts; commending some and dispraising others. And if thus barbarous and inhuman towards his own kindred and subjects, we cannot think he was over-favourable to Christians; wanting this title (says Eusebius[h]) to be added to all the rest, to be styled the first emperor that became an enemy to the Christian religion, publishing laws and edicts for the suppressing of it; and prosecuting those that possessed it, with the utmost rigour in every place; and that upon this occasion. Among infinite other instances of this madness and folly, he took up a resolution to burn Rome, either as being offended with the narrowness of the streets, and the deformity of the buildings, or ambitious to become the author of a more stately and magnificent city, and to call it after his own name. But however it was, he caused it to be set on fire, about the 19th of July, A. D. 64. The conquering flames quickly prevailed over that city, that had so often triumphed over the rest of the world, in six or seven days spoiling and reducing the far greatest part of it (ten regions of fourteen) into ashes; laying waste houses and temples, and all the venerable antiquities and monuments of that place, which had been preserved with so much care and reverence for many ages; himself in the mean while from Mecænas's tower beholding the sad spectacle with pleasure and delight, and in the habit of a player, singing the destruction of Troy. And when the people would but have searched the ruins of their own houses, he forbade them, not suffering them to reap what the mercy of the flames had spared. This act (as well it might) exposed him to all the hatred and detestation wherewith an injured and abused people could resent it, which he endeavoured to remove by large promises and great rewards, by consulting the Sibylline books, and by public supplications and sacrifices to the gods. Notwithstanding all which, Tacitus[i] tells us, the people still believed him to be the author of the mischief. This not succeeding, he sought to clear himself by deriving the odium upon

[h] H. Eccles. l. ii. c. 25. p. 67.

[i] Annal. l. xv. c. 44. p. 319.

the Christians, whom he knew to be sufficiently hateful to the people, charging them to have been the incendiaries, and proceeding against them with the most exquisite torments. Having apprehended some, whom they either forced or persuaded to confess themselves guilty, by their means great numbers of others were betrayed; whom Tacitus confesses, that not the burning of the city, but the common hatred made criminal. They were treated with all the instances of scorn and cruelty; some of them were wrapt up in skins of wild beasts, and worried by dogs; others crucified; others burnt alive, being clad in paper coats, dipped in pitch, wax, and such combustible matter, that when day-light failed, they might serve for torches in the night. These spectacles Nero exhibited in his own gardens, which yet the people entertained with more pity than pleasure; knowing they were done not for the public benefit, but merely to gratify his own private rage and malice. Little better usage did the Christians meet with in other parts of the empire, as appears from the inscription [k] found at Clunia in Spain, dedicated to Nero in memory of his having cleared the province of those that had introduced a new superstition amongst mankind. Under this persecution suffered Tecla, Torques, Torquatus, Marcellus, and several others mentioned in the ancient martyrologies, especially the apostles Peter and Paul; the one upon the cross, the other by the sword.

XIX. The troublesome vicissitudes and revolutions of affairs that happened under the succeeding emperors, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius; and the mild and merciful disposition of Vespasian and Titus, gave some rest to the Christians: till Domitian succeeding, began a second Persecution. A man of a temper vastly different from that of his father and his brother; for though at first he put on a plausible carriage, yet he soon left off the vizor, and appeared like himself; lazy and inactive, ill-natured and suspicious, griping and covetous, proud and insolent: yea, so vainly ambitious as to affect divinity, in all public edicts assuming to himself, and in all petitions and addresses requiring from others, the titles of Lord and God. He never truly loved any man; and when he most pretended it, it was a sure sign of that man's ruin. His cruelty he exercised first upon flies, thousands whereof he dispatched every day; next upon men, and those

[k] Ap. Gruter. loc. supr. citat.

of all ranks and states: putting to death the most illustrious senators, and persons of the greatest honour and nobility, upon the most trifling pretences; and many times for no cause at all. In the fierceness and brutality of his temper he equalled Nero, *Portio Neronis de crudelitate*,[1] as Tertullian styles him; nay, in this exceeded him: that Nero was content to command execution to be done at a distance, while Domitian took pleasure in beholding his cruelties exercised before his eyes; an argument of a temper deeper dyed in blood. But the Christians, alas, bore the heaviest load of his rage and malice, whom he every where persecuted either by death or banishment. Under him, St. John the evangelist was sent for to Rome, and by his command thrown into a cauldron of boiling oil: in the midst whereof, when the divine providence had miraculously preserved him, he immediately banished him into Patmos. He put to death his cousin-german Fl. Clemens (at that time consul) for being a Christian, and banished his wife Fl. Domitilla, (his own kinswoman also,) upon the same account, into the island Pandataria. At length his brutish and bloody practices rendered him intolerable to his own friends and servants, who conspired against him (his own wife Domitia being of the confederacy) and slew him. His successor Nerva abrogated his acts, and recalled those whom he had proscribed and banished; among whom St. John, taking the benefit of that act of revocation, quitted Patmos, and returned to Ephesus.

XX. The third Persecution commenced under Trajan, whom Nerva had adopted to be his successor. A prince he was of excellent and incomparable virtues, whose justice and impartiality, gentleness and modesty, munificence and liberality, kindness and affability, rendered him infinitely dear and acceptable to the people; the extravagancies of his predecessors not a little contributing to sweeten his government to them. He was mild and dispassionate, familiar and courteous; he shewed a great reverence to the senate, by whose advice he usually acted; and they to requite him, gave him the title of Optimus, as whom they judged the best of all their princes. He conversed freely and innocently with all men, being desirous rather to be beloved than either feared or honoured by the people. The glory of all which is exceedingly stained in the records of the church by his

[1] Loc. supr. citat. c. 5. p. 6.

severe proceedings against the Christians. He looked upon the religion of the empire as daily undermined by this new way of worship, that the numbers of Christians grew formidable, and might possibly endanger the peace and tranquillity of the Roman state; and that there was no better way to secure to himself the favour of the gods, especially in his wars, than to vindicate their cause against the Christians. Accordingly therefore he issued out orders to proceed against them, as illegal societies, erected and acting contrary to the laws; in which number all colleges and corporations were accounted, that were not[m] settled either by the emperor's constitution, or the decree of the senate; and the persons[n] frequenting them adjudged guilty of high treason. Indeed the emperors (as we have elsewhere observed) were infinitely suspicious of such meetings, as which might easily conspire into faction and treason: and therefore when Pliny[o] interceded with Trajan in behalf of the city of Nicomedia, that being so subject to fires, he would constitute a corporation of smiths, though but a small number, which might be easily kept in order, and which he promised to keep a particular eye upon; the emperor answered, By no means, for we ought to remember (says he) that that province, and especially those cities, are greatly disturbed by such kind of factions; and whatever the title or the occasion be, if they meet together, they will be *heteriæ*, though less numerous than the rest. That they looked upon the Christian assemblies as in the number of these unlawful corporations; and that under this pretence, Trajan endeavoured to suppress them, will appear from Pliny's letter to him. In the mean time he commanded them either to offer sacrifice to the gods, or to be punished as contemners of them. The people also in several places by popular tumults falling foul upon them. The chief of those who obtained the crown of martyrdom under him, were St. Clemens bishop of Rome, St. Simeon bishop of Jerusalem, and St. Ignatius bishop of Antioch, whom Trajan himself condemned and sent to Rome, there to be thrown to wild beasts.

XXI. The persecution raged, as in the other parts of the empire, so especially in the provinces of Pontus and Bithynia, where Pliny the younger (who had some time since been consul)

[m] Lib. i. et iii. ff. de Colleg. et corp. l. xlvii. tit. 22.

[o] Lib. x. epist. 42, 43.

[n] Ulpian de off. procons. l. vi. ib. l. ii.

then governed as pro-prætor, with consular power and dignity. Who seeing vast multitudes of Christians indicted by others, and pressing on of themselves to execution, and that to proceed severely against all that came, would be in a manner to lay waste those provinces, he thought good to write to the emperor about this matter, to know his pleasure in the case. His letter, because acquainting us so exactly with the state of the Christians, and the manner of proceeding against them, and giving so eminent a testimony to their innocency and integrity, we shall here insert.

C. Plinius to the Emperor Trajan.

"It is my custom, Sir, in all affairs wherein I doubt, to have recourse to you. For who can better either sway my irresolution, or instruct my ignorance? I have never been heretofore present at the examination and trial of Christians; and therefore know not what the crime is, and how far it is wont to be punished, or how to proceed in these enquiries. Nor was I a little at a loss, whether regard be to be had to difference of age, whether the young and the weak be to be distinguished from the more strong and aged? whether place may be allowed to repentance, and it may be of any advantage to him, who once was a Christian, to cease to be so? Whether the name alone without other offences, or the offences that go along with the name, ought to be punished? In the mean time, towards those who as Christians have been brought before me, I have taken this course: I asked them whether they were Christians? if they confessed it, I asked them once and again, threatening punishment; if they persisted, I commanded them to be executed. For I did not at all doubt but that, whatever their confession was, their stubbornness and inflexible obstinacy ought to be punished. Others there were guilty of the like madness, whom because they were Roman citizens, I adjudged to be transmitted to Rome. While things thus proceeded, the error, as is usual, spreading farther, more cases did ensue. A nameless libel was presented, containing the names of many who denied themselves to be, or to have been Christians. These, when after my example they invocated the gods, and offered wine and incense to your statue, (which for that purpose I had commanded to be brought together with the images of the gods,) and had moreover blasphemed Christ, (which

it is said none that are true Christians can be compelled to do,) I dismissed; others mentioned in the libel confessed themselves Christians, but presently denied it, that they had indeed been such, but had renounced it; some by the space of three years, others many years since, and one five and twenty years ago. All which paid their reverence and veneration to your statue, and the images of the gods, and blasphemed Christ. They affirmed that the whole sum of that sect or error lay in this, that they were wont upon a set solemn day to meet together before sun-rise, and to sing among themselves a hymn to Christ, as the God whom they worshipped; and oblige themselves by an oath, not to commit any wickedness, but to abstain from theft, robbery, adultery, to keep faith, and, when required, to restore any pledge intrusted with them. Which done, then to depart for that time, and to meet again at a common meal, to partake of a promiscuous and harmless food; which yet they laid aside, after I had published an edict, forbidding, according to your order, the *hetericæ* (or unlawful assemblies) to be kept. To satisfy myself in the truth hereof, I commanded two maidens called deaconesses to be examined upon the rack. But I perceived nothing but a lewd and immoderate superstition, and therefore surceasing any farther process, I have sent to pray your advice: for the case seemed to me very worthy to be consulted about, especially considering the great numbers that are in danger: for very many of all ages and ranks, both men and women, are and will be called in question; the contagion of this superstition having over-spread not only cities, but towns and country villages, which yet seems possible to be stopped and cured. It is very evident that the temples, which were almost quite forsaken, begin to be frequented, that the holy rites and solemnities of a long time neglected are set on foot again, and that sacrifices are from all parts brought to be sold, which hitherto found very few to buy them. Whence it is easy to conjecture, what multitudes of persons might be reclaimed, if place be given to repentance."

This letter was written, as is probable, about the year of our Lord 107. Traj. 9.; Trajan lying then at Antioch, in order to his wars in the East, and where the persecution was very hot. By which it is evident, what unreasonable and inveterate

prejudices even the more moderate and ingenuous part of the Gentile world had entertained against the Christian religion: that though so innocent and unblamable, as to extort an honourable character from its greatest enemies and most malicious apostates, though racks and tortures could force out nothing to its disadvantage; yet rather than not express their resentments, (what was unbecoming men of parts and breeding,) they loaded it with ill names and hard words. Pliny we see here scruples not to style it not only an error, but madness, and a wicked and immoderate superstition, charging the constant profession of it, for stubbornness, and an incurable obstinacy, what in itself was the effect of the most brave and generous resolution. And the very same civility it found from his two intimate friends, Tacitus and Suetonius, the one whereof calls it a "detestable,"[s] the other a "novel and mischievous superstition."[t] By this account also we see, that though the severity of the persecution might tempt some to turn renegades, yet that so vast was the spread which Christianity had made in those parts, that this great man knew not how to deal with them. To direct him therefore in this affair, the emperor returned this following rescript.

Trajan to Pliny, greeting.

"As to the manner of your procedure, my Secundus, in examining the causes of those who have been brought before you for being Christians, you have taken the course which you ought to take: for no certain and general law can be so framed, as shall provide for all particular cases. Let them not be sought for; but if they be accused and convicted, let them be punished: yet so, that if any denies himself to be a Christian, and shall give evidence of it by doing sacrifice to our gods, although heretofore he has been suspected, let him be pardoned upon his repentance. But as for libels, published without the name of the authors, let them not be valid as to the crimes they charge; for that were an ill precedent, and is not the usage of our reign."

Tertullian,[u] speaking of this imperial edict, calls it "A sentence confounded by a strange necessity: it allows them not to be sought for, as if they were innocent, and yet commands them

[s] Tacit. Annal l. xv. c. 44. p. 319.
[t] Sueton. in Neron. c. 16. p. 571.
[u] Apol. c. 2. c. 3.

to be punished, as if they were guilty: it spares and rages, dissembles and yet punishes. Why does he entangle himself in his own censure? if he condemns them, why does he not hunt them out? if he thinks them not to be searched out, why does he not acquit them?" Where Tertullian seems to argue more like an orator than logician. For Trajan might be unwilling the Christians should be nicely hunted out, and yet not think them innocent: he could not find them guilty of any enormous crime, but only of a strange and novel superstition: and therefore, while they concealed themselves, did not think it reasonable that they should be left to the malice and rapine of busy under-officers, who acted under the presidents and governors of provinces, mere sycophants and calumniators, *ἀναιδεῖς συκοφάνται καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐρασταὶ*, as [x]Melito styles them in his Apology to M. Antoninus, impudent accusers, and ravenous devourers of other men's estates; of whom he complains, that under a pretence of the imperial edicts, they day and night openly spoil and plunder the harmless and the innocent. These Trajan might think fit to restrain; but where there was notoriety of fact, where Christians were duly cited before the public tribunals, and the charge substantially made good, there they were to be left to the sentence of the law. But however it was, by this means the edge of their enemies' fury was taken off; and though the popular rage might in some particular places still continue, yet the general force and rigour of the persecution did abate and cease.

XXII. Trajan dying at Selinus in Cilicia, Adrian (whom he had adopted) succeeded in the empire. A prince of excellent parts, and no inconsiderable learning, *μουσικώτατος βασιλεὺς*, as Athenæus[y] calls him, a prince greatly devoted to the muses, and yet one in whom it is hard to say, whether vice or virtue had the upper hand; and, which is more, who seemed to reconcile most vices with their contrary virtues. He highly honoured the senate, without whose authority he would never transact any affairs of moment; and upon solemn days would condescend to wait upon the consuls to their own houses; and yet was proud and vain-glorious, and ambitious of honour, which he greedily caught at upon every little occasion. He was magnificent in his works, and liberal in his gifts; but withal envious, detracting

[x] Ap. Euseb. H. Eccl. l. iv. c. 26.

[y] Deipnos. l. viii. c. 16.

from the glory of his predecessor, censuring and discommending the most eminent artists in all kind of faculties. He familiarly conversed with his friends, visited them in their sickness many times twice or thrice a day, treated them with the freedom and kindness of companions; and yet he was fierce and cruel: as is evident by the many persons of nobility and renown whom he put to death. But we have noted enough of his character elsewhere, in the Life of St. Quadratus. He was addicted to magic, and a great zealot for religion, especially the rites of Greece, but despised and hated all other religions; upon which account he was no good friend to Christians. In his time, a fourth Persecution was raised against them, and so Sulpitius Severus [a] positively calls it. I know Eusebius, followed by Orosius and some others, assigns the fourth Persecution to the reign of M. Aurelius; but whoever impartially considers the state of things, will see that it ought to be fixed here. It is true, we do not find any new laws which this emperor made against the Christians, but the laws of his predecessors were still in force, and the people in most places were ready enough to run upon this errand of their own accord, and to sacrifice the poor innocent Christians to their own spite and malice. Whence Eusebius, speaking of the Apologies presented to this emperor, says,[a] it was because wicked and ill-minded men began to vex and disturb the Christians. And St. Hierom [b] more particularly tells us, that the zeal which the emperor shewed in being initiated into the holy mysteries and the rites of Greece, gave opportunity and encouragement to the people (though without any particular warrant) to fall upon them: and this he elsewhere [c] calls a "most grievous persecution." And so indeed it was, as is evident, not only from the Apologies which both Quadratus and Aristides presented to the emperor in behalf of the Christians, but that when Arrius Antoninus [d] (whom most suppose to have been the same with him that succeeded Adrian) was proconsul of Asia, and severely prosecuted the Christians there, all the Christians of the city where he resided as one man beset his tribunal, openly confessing themselves to be Christians. He, amazed at the multitude, caused some few of them to be executed, telling the rest, that if

[a] H. Sacr. l. ii. p. 142.
[b] De script. in Quadrat.
[d] Tertull. ad Scapul. c. 4.
[a] H. Eccles. l. iv. c. 3.
[c] Epist. ad Magn. Orat.

they had a mind to end their lives, they had precipices and halters enough at home, and need not crowd thither for an execution. Nay, so high did it arise, that Serenius Granianus, one of the following proconsuls, was forced to write to Adrian for its mitigation; which the emperor accordingly commanded by a rescript, directed to Minucius Fundanus, Granianus's successor in that province, as he did also to several others; as Melito particularly tells us in his Apology. But though the fire seemed to be pretty well quenched at present, yet did it break out again in the succeeding reign of Antoninus Pius, devouring many, whose sufferings are recorded in the martyrologies of the church; and for the stopping whereof, Justin Martyr exhibited an Apology to this emperor, which produced that excellent letter of his to the common council of Asia, in favour of the Christians, which we have exemplified in the Life of Justin Martyr.

XXIII. To Antoninus Pius succeeded M. Aurelius Antoninus and his brother L. Verus. M. Aurelius was a person of whom the writers of his life deservedly speak great things. He was a good man, and a great philosopher, and whom the historian[e] says, it is easier to admire than to commend. But he was infinitely superstitious in his religion, and therefore easily blown up by the priests and philosophers that were about him into a prejudice against Christianity, and persuaded to set on foot the fifth Persecution against the Christians, whom he endeavoured to curb and suppress by new laws and edicts, exposing them to all the malice and fierceness of their enemies. The persecution began in the Eastern parts about the seventh year of his reign, where it continued almost all his time; and not content to stay there, spread itself into the West, especially France, where it raged with great severity. That the conflict was very sharp and fierce, may be guessed at by the crowd of Apologies that were presented to him by Justin Martyr, Melito, Athenagoras, and Apollinaris. In Asia, St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, was first condemned to the fire, and then run through with a sword, with twelve more from Philadelphia, who suffered with him, and Germanicus, who a little before was devoured by wild beasts. At Rome, besides Ptolemy and Lucius, Justin the Martyr with his six companions, Charito, Charitina, Euelpistus, Hierax, Peon, and Valerianus, were beheaded. In the French persecution suffered Vettius

[e] Eutrop. H. Rom. lib. viii. p. 1919.

Epagathus, a young man of incomparable piety and magnanimity; Blandina, a lady of singular virtue, who, after infinite and inexpressible torments, was tied to a beam in fashion of a cross, and thrown to wild beasts; Biblis, who though at first through frailty she denied the faith, yet recovered her courage, and expired in the midst of the acutest tortures; Pothinus, bishop of Lyons, above ninety years old, beaten and stoned to death; Sanctus, a deacon of Vienne, together with Maturus, exposed in the amphitheatre, tormented and imprisoned several days together, presented to wild beasts, placed in an iron chair red hot, and at last run through with a spear; Attalus, a Roman citizen, disgracefully led up and down in triumph, roasted in an iron chair, and then beheaded; as was also Alexander the physician, a Phrygian, who readily professed himself a Christian; and Ponticus, a youth of fifteen years of age, who through all the methods of cruelty and torment, which might have shaken a maturer age, entered into the kingdom of heaven. A larger and more particular account of all whose martyrdoms is recorded in the letter written by the churches of Lyons and Vienne in France to those of Asia and Phrygia, yet extant in Eusebius. At length the emperor seems to have relaxed the persecution, inclined to it, as is thought, by the remarkable victory which he gained in his German wars by the prayers of the Christian legion, when the fortunes of the Roman empire lay at stake, and the Christians so signally, so immediately engaged heaven in its rescue and deliverance, by supplying them with rain, and fighting against the enemy with lightning and thunder. Whereupon the emperor is said to have written to the senate, acknowledging the greatness of the blessing, and commanding all just favour and indulgence to be shewed to the Christians. The substance of the story is universally owned by the Gentile writers, though, out of spite to the Christians, they either ascribe it to the power of magic, or the prevalency of the emperor's own prayers. That there were such letters written, is plain, in that Tertullian,[f] who lived but a little after, cites them, and appeals to them; though I confess little stress can be laid upon the epistle that is extant at this day. There is still extant[g] a law of M. Aurelius and his brother Verus, permitting those who

[f] Apol. c. 5. vide lib. ad Scap. c. 4.

[g] Ap. Ulpian. l. iii. ff. §. 3. lib. 50. tit. 2.

follow the Jewish superstition to obtain honours, and granting them guards to defend them from wrong and injury. By this, very learned men[h] understand Christians, at least equally with the Jews; these two being commonly confounded by the writers of those times, and superstition the word by which they usually denote Christianity. But however it was, this law was made before that German victory, M. Aurelius not being engaged in that war till after the death of his brother Verus.

XXIV. The Christian affairs were tolerably quiet and peaceable during the reigns of Commodus, Æl. Pertinax, and Julian, till Severus got into the throne; a prince witty and learned, prudent and politic, hardy and valiant, but withal crafty and subtle, treacherous and unfaithful, bloody and passionate, and, as the historian[i] observes, of a nature truly answering to his name, *Vere Pertinax, vere Severus.* Under him began the sixth Persecution: for though at first he shewed himself favourable to the Christians, yet afterwards he changed his mind, and gave ear to those who traduced them as an impious and infamous generation; a people that designed nothing but treason and rebellion against the state. Whereupon he not only suffered his ministers and governors of provinces to treat them with all imaginable cruelty, but he himself gave out edicts, forbidding any, under the most terrible penalties, to profess either the Jewish or Christian religion; which were executed with that rigour and inhumanity, that the Christians of those days verily believed that the times of Antichrist did then take place. Martyrs of note whom this persecution sent to heaven, were Victor bishop of Rome; Leonidas, Origen's father, beheaded at Alexandria; Serenus, Heraclides, Heron, another Serenus, and Herais a catechumen, all Origen's scholars; Potamiæna, an illustrious virgin, and her mother Marcella, after various torments, committed to the flames; and Basilides, one of the officers that had led them to execution. Felicitas and Perpetua, two noble ladies, at Tuburbis in Mauritania, the one brought to bed but the day before, the other at that time a nurse. Speratus and his companions beheaded at Carthage, by the command of Saturninus, the proconsul. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, and many thousands of his people

[h] Alciat. dispunct. l. iii. c. 8. A. August. ad Modest. p 336. Petit. de jur. Princip. c. 6. vide Selden de Synedr. l. i. c. 8. Raynaud. Indic. SS. Lugd. proleg. 3. p. 52.

[i] Spartian. in vit. Sever. c. 14.

martyred with him; whose names and sufferings, though unknown to us, are honourably written in the book of life.

XXV. The next that created any disturbance to the Christians, was Maximinus, by birth a Thracian; a man of base and obscure originals, of a mean and sordid education: he had been first a shepherd, then a highwayman, and last of all a soldier: [k] he was of strength and stature beyond the ordinary size and standard; and his manners were as robust and boisterous as his constitution, and savoured wholly of the rudeness of his education. Never did a more cruel beast, (says the historian,[l]) tread upon the earth, relying altogether upon his strength, and upon that account reckoning himself almost immortal. He seized upon whatever came in his way, plundering and destroying without any difference, without any process or form of law: his strength was the law of justice, and his will the measure of his actions. He spared none, but especially killed all that knew any thing of his mean descent, that none might reproach him with the obscurity of his birth. Having slain his master Alexander Mammæus, that excellent and incomparable prince, he usurped the government, and managed it suitably to his own maxim, that "the empire could not be maintained but by cruelty." The seventh Persecution was raised by him. Indeed Sulpitius Severus admits not this into the number, and therefore makes no more than nine Pagan Persecutions, reserving the tenth for the times of Antichrist. But Eusebius [m] expressly affirms, that Maximinus stirred up a persecution against the Christians, and that out of hatred to his predecessor, in whose family many Christians had found shelter and patronage, but that it was almost wholly levelled against the bishops and ministers of religion, as the prime authors and propagators of Christianity. Whence Firmilian, bishop of Cappadocia, in his letter to St. Cyprian,[n] says of it, that it was not a general, but a local persecution, and raged in some particular places, and especially in that province where he lived, Serenianus the president driving the Christians out of all those countries. He adds, that many dreadful earthquakes happening in those parts, whereby towns and cities were overturned and swallowed up, added life and vigour to the persecution, it being usual with the Gentiles, if a famine or pestilence, an earthquake or inunda-

[k] Herod. lib. vii. in Maxim. p. 253.
[l] Capitol. in vit. Maxim. c. 9.
[m] H. Eccl. l. vi. c. 38.
[n] Inter. Epist. Cypr.

tion happened, presently to fall foul upon the Christians, and conclude them the causes of all those evils and mischiefs that came upon the world. And this Origen[o] meant when he tells us, that he knew some places overturned with earthquakes, the cause whereof the heathens cast upon the Christians; for which their churches were persecuted and burnt to the ground: and that not only the common people, but the wiser sort among them did not stick openly to affirm, that these things came for the sake of the Christians. Hereupon he wrote his book "De Martyrio," for the comfort and support of those that suffered in this evil time.

XXVI. After Maximinus reigned Pupienus and Balbinus, to them succeeded Gordian, and to him Philip: all which time, for at least ten years together, the church enjoyed a competent calmness and tranquillity; when Decius was in a manner forced in his own defence to take the empire upon him. A man of great activity and resolution, a stout commander, a wise and prudent governor, so universally acceptable for his modest and excellent carriage, that by the sentence of the senate he was voted not inferior to Trajan, and had the title of Optimus adjudged to him. But he was a bitter and implacable enemy to Christians, against whom he raised the eighth Persecution, which proved, though the shortest, the hottest of all the persecutions that had hitherto afflicted and oppressed the church. The ecclesiastic[p] historians generally put it upon the account of Decius's hatred to his predecessor Philip, for being a Christian; whereas it is more truly to be ascribed to his zeal for the cause of declining paganism, which he saw fatally undermined by Christianity, and that therefore there was no way to support the one, but by the ruin of the other. We have more than once taken notice of it in some of the following Lives, and therefore shall say the less here. Decius reigned somewhat above two years, during which time the storm was very black and violent, and no place but felt the dreadful effects of it. They were every where driven from their houses, spoiled in their estates, tormented in their bodies; whips and prisons, fires and wild beasts, scalding pitch and melted wax, sharp stakes and burning

[o] Hom. xxviii. in Matth.

[p] Euseb. H. Eccl. l. vi. c. 39. Chron. ad Ann. 252. Oros. l. vii. c. 21. Niceph. l. v. c. 27.

pincers, were but some of the methods of their treatment; and when the old ones were run over, new were daily invented and contrived. The laws of nature and humanity were broken down, friend betrayed his friend, and the nearest relative his own father or brother. Every one was ambitious to promote the imperial edicts, and thought it meritorious to bring a Christian to the stake. This persecution swept away at Alexandria, Julian, Chronion, Epimachus, Alexander, Ammon, Zeno, Ptolemy, Ammonaria, Mercuria, Isidore, and many others mentioned by Dionysius bishop of that church; at Carthage, Mappalicus, Bassus, Fortunio, Paulus, Donatus, Martialis, &c.; it crowned Babylas bishop of Antioch, Alexander of Jerusalem, Fabian bishop of Rome, Victoria, Anatolia, Parthenius, Marcellianus, and thousands more: Nicephorus[p] affirming it to be easier to count the sands of the shore, than to reckon up all the martyrs that suffered under this persecution. Not to say any thing of those incredible numbers of confessors that were beaten, imprisoned, tormented; nor of the far greater number of those who betook themselves to a voluntary exile; choosing rather to commit themselves to the barrenness of rocks and mountains, and the mercy of wild beasts, than to those that had put off all reason and humanity. Among whom was Paul of Thebais, a youth of fifteen years of age, who withdrew himself into the Egyptian deserts, where finding a large and convenient cavern in a rock, (which heretofore had been a private mint-house in the time of Antony and Cleopatra,) he took up his abode and residence, led a solitary and anchoretic course of life, and became the father of hermits, and those who afterwards were desirous to retire from the world, and to resign up themselves to solitude, and a more strict mortified life. In this pious and devout retirement he continued till he was one hundred and thirteen years of age; and in the last period of his life was visited by Antonius, who had spent the greatest part of ninety years in those desert places, and who now performed the last offices to him in committing his dead body to the earth.

XXVII. Gallus succeeded Decius as in his government so in his enmity to Christians, carrying on what the other had begun. But the cloud soon blew over; for he being cut off, was succeeded by Valerian, who entered upon the empire with an

[p] Lib. v. c. 29.

universal applause and expectation. In the beginning of his reign he was a great patron of Christians, whom he treated with all offices of kindness and humanity, entertaining them in his own family; so that his court seemed to be a little church for piety, and a sanctuary for refuge to good men. But, alas, this pleasant scene was quickly over; seduced by a chief magician of Egypt, who persuaded him that the only way to prosper his affairs was to restore the Gentile rites, and to suppress Christianity, so hateful to the gods, he commenced a ninth Persecution, wherein he prosecuted the Christians with all imaginable fury in all parts of the empire. With what fierceness it raged in Egypt, is largely related by Dionysius of Alexandria, and we have in a great part noted in his Life. It is needless (says he [q]) particularly to reckon up the Christians that suffered in this persecution: only this you may observe, that both men and women, young and old, soldiers and country people, persons of all ranks and ages, were some of them scourged and whipped, others beheaded, others overcoming the violence of flames, received the crown of martyrdom. Cyprian elegantly and passionately bewails the miseries and sufferings which the martyrs underwent, in his letter to Nemesian, and the rest that were condemned to the mines. Nor did he himself escape, being beheaded at Carthage, as Xistus and Quartus had been before him, and the three hundred martyrs *De Massa Candida*, who, rather than do sacrifice, cheerfully leaped into a mighty pit of burning lime, kindled for that purpose, and were immediately stifled in the smoke and flames. In Spain suffered Fructuosus bishop of Tarragon, together with his two deacons, Augurius and Eulogius; at Rome, Xistus the bishop, and St. Laurence his deacon and treasurer of that church; at Cæsarea, Priscus, Malchus, and Alexander, who, ashamed to think that they lay idle and secure while so many others were contending for the crown, unanimously went to the judge, confessed they were Christians, received their sentence, and underwent their martyrdom. But the divine providence, which sometimes in this world pleads the cause of oppressed innocence, was resolved to punish the emperor for his causeless cruelty towards those, whose interest with heaven (while he continued favourable to them) had secured his happiness; and therefore did not only

[q] Epist. ad Domit. et Did. ap. Euseb. l. vii. c. 11.

suffer the northern nations to break in upon him, but he himself was taken prisoner by Sapor king of Persia, who treated him below the rate of the meanest slave, used him as his footstool to get on horse-back, and after several-years' captivity caused him to be flayed alive, and rubbed with salt, and so put a period to his miserable life. A fair warning to his son Gallienus, who growing wiser by the mischiefs and miscarriages of his father, stopped the persecution, and restored peace and security to Christians.[r]

XXVIII. A long peace and prosperity (for except a little disturbance in the time of Aurelian, they met with no opposition through the reigns of Gallienus, Claudius, Tacitus, Florianus, Probus, Carus, and Numerian) had somewhat corrupted the manners of Christians, and therefore God was pleased to permit a tenth Persecution to come upon them, to purge and winnow the rubbish and the chaff: the ulcer began to putrefy, and it was time to call for the knife and the caustic. It began under Dioclesian and his colleague Maximian. Dioclesian was a prince active and diligent, crafty and subtle, fierce in his nature, but which he knew how cunningly to dissemble. His zeal for the pagan religion engaged him with all possible earnestness to oppose Christianity, which he carried on with a high hand; it being as the last, so the fiercest persecution, like the last efforts of a dying enemy, that summons all his strength to give the parting blow. Dioclesian, then residing at Nicomedia, published his edicts about the very solemnity of our Saviour's passion, commanding the Christian churches to be pulled down, their bibles to be burnt, the better sort of them to be branded with infamy, the vulgar to be made slaves; as by subsequent orders he commanded the bishops to be every where imprisoned, and forced to sacrifice. But these were but a præludium to what followed after; other proclamations being put forth, commanding those that refused to offer sacrifice to be exposed to all manner of torments. It were endless to reckon up particular persons that suffered in this evil time. Eusebius, who lived under this very persecution, has recorded a vast number of them, with the acts of their martyrdom; too many to account for in this place. It may suffice to note from him, that they were scourged to death, had their flesh torn off with pincers, or raked off with

[r] Constant. M. Orat. ad SS. Cœlum, cap. 24. p. 600.

pieces of broken pots; were cast to lions and tigers, to wild boars and bears, provoked and enraged with fire to set upon them; burnt, beheaded, crucified, thrown into the sea; torn in pieces by the distorted boughs of trees, or their legs miserably distended in the stocks; roasted at a gentle fire, or by holes made on purpose had melted lead poured into their bowels. But impossible it is to conceive, much more to express the cruelties of that time. Eusebius himself, who saw them, tells us,[s] that they were innumerable, and exceeded all relation. All which, he assures us, they endured with the most admirable and undaunted patience; they thronged to the tribunals of their judges, and freely told them what they were; despised the threatenings and barbarity of their enemies, and received the fatal and decretory sentence with a smile; when persuaded to be tender of their lives, and to compassionate the case of their wives and children, they bore up against the temptation with a manly and philosophic mind, μᾶλλον δὲ εὐσεβεῖ καὶ φιλοθέῳ ψυχῇ, as he adds, "yea rather with a soul truly pious and devoted unto God;" so that neither fears nor charms could take hold upon them, at once giving undeniable evidences both of their own courage and fortitude, and of that divine and unconceivable power of our Lord that went along with them. The acutest torments did not shake the firmness and stability of their minds, but they could with as much unconcernedness lay down their lives (as Origen[t] tells Celsus) as the best philosopher could put off his coat. They valued their innocency above their ease, or life itself; and sufficiently shewed they believed another state, by an argument beyond what any institution of philosophy could afford. "The great philosophers of the Gentiles, (as Eusebius[u] reasons in this matter,) as much as they talk of immortality, and the happiness of the future state, did yet shew that they looked upon it only as a childish and a trifling report: whereas amongst us, even boys and girls, and as to outward appearance the meanest and rudest persons, being assisted by the power and aid of our blessed Saviour, do by their actions, rather than their words, demonstrate the truth of this great principle, the immortality of the soul. Ten years this persecution lasted in its strength and vigour, under Dioclesian in the East, and Maximian in the West; and they thought, it seems, they had done their

[s] Lib. viii. c. 12. [t] Contr. Cels. l. vii. p. 357. [u] Præpar. Evang. l. i. c. 4.

work, and accordingly tell the world in some ancient inscriptions,[x] that they had utterly defaced the name and superstition of the Christians, and had restored and propagated the worship of the gods; but were miserably mistaken in the case; and, as if weary of the work, laid down their purple, and retired to the solitudes of a private life. And though Galerius, Maximianus, Jovius Maximinus, Maxentius, and Licinius did what they could to set the persecution on foot again, yet all in vain; both they and it in a very few years expiring and dwindling into nothing.

XXIX. Thus we have seen the hardships and miseries, the torments and sufferings which the Christians were exposed to for several ages, and with how invincible a patience they went through with them. Let us now a little review the argument, and see what force and influence it had to convince the world of the truth of their religion, and bring in converts to the faith. Tertullian[y] tells the Gentiles, "That all their cruelty was to no purpose, that it was but a stronger invitation to bring over others to the party; that the oftener they mowed them down, the faster they sprang up again; and that the blood of Christians was a seed that grew up into a more plentiful harvest; that several among the Gentiles had exhorted their auditors to patience under suffering, but could never make so many proselytes with all their fine discourses, as the Christians did by their actions: that that very obstinacy which was so much charged upon them was a tutor to instruct others. For who, when they beheld such things, could not but be powerfully moved to enquire what really was within? who when he had once found it, would not embrace it? and having once embraced it, not be desirous to suffer for it; that so he may obtain the full grace of God, and the pardon of his sins assured by the shedding of his blood? Lactantius[z] manages this argument with incomparable eloquence and strength of reason: his discourse is somewhat long, but not unworthy the reader's consideration. "Since our number (says he) is always increased from amongst the votaries of the heathen deities, and is never lessened, no not in the hottest persecution, who is so blind and stupid as not to see in which party true wisdom does reside? But they, alas, are blinded with rage and malice, and think all to be fools, who

[x] Ap. Gruter. p. 280. num. 3, 4.

[y] Apol. c. ult. p. 40.

[z] De Justit. l. v. c. 13.

when it is in their power to escape punishment, choose rather to be tortured and to die; whenas they might perceive by this, that that can be no such folly, wherein so many thousands throughout the whole world do so unanimously conspire. Suppose that women through the weakness of their sex may miscarry, (and they are pleased sometimes to style this religion an effeminate and old-wives' superstition,) yet certainly men are wiser. If children and young men may be rash, yet at least those of a mature age and old men have a more stable judgment. If one city might play the fool, yet innumerable others cannot be supposed to be guilty of the same folly. If one province, or one nation, should want care and providence, yet all the rest cannot lack understanding to judge what is right. But now, when the divine law is entertained from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, and every sex, age, nation, and country serves God with one heart and soul; when there is every where the same patience, and contempt of death, they ought to consider that there is some reason for it, and that it is not without cause, that it is maintained even unto death: that there is some fixed foundation when a religion is not only not shattered by injuries and persecutions, but always increased and rendered more firm and stable. When the very common people see men torn in pieces by various engines of torment, and yet maintain a patience unconquerable in the midst of their tired tormentors; they cannot but think what the truth is, that the consent of so many, and their perseverance unto death, cannot be in vain, nor that patience itself, without the divine assistance, should be able to overcome such exquisite tortures. Highwaymen and persons of the most robust constitutions are not able to bear such pulling asunder; they roar, and groan, and sink under pain, because not furnished with a divine patience. But our very children (to say nothing of our men) and our tender women, do by silence conquer their tormentors; nor can the flames extort one sigh from them. Let the Romans go now, and boast of their Mutius and their Regulus, one of which delivered up himself to be put to death by his enemies, because he was ashamed to live a prisoner; the other thrust his hand into the fire when he saw he could not escape death. Behold, with us the weaker sex, and the more delicate age, suffers the whole body to be torn and burnt; not because they could not avoid it if they would, but

voluntarily, because they trust in God. This is true virtue, which philosophers in vain only talk of, when they tell us, that nothing is so suitable to the gravity and constancy of a wise man, as not by any terrors to be driven from his sentiments and opinions; but that it is virtuous, and great indeed, to be tortured and die, rather than betray one's faith, or be wanting in his duty, or do any thing that is unjust or dishonest, though for fear of death, or the acutest torment, unless they thought their own poet raved, when he said,[a]

'Justum ac tenacem propositi virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida.'

The just man that resolved stands,
Not tyrants' frowns, nor fierce commands,
Nor all the people's rage combin'd,
Can shake the firmness of his mind.

Than which nothing can be more truly said, if meant of those who refuse no tortures, nor death itself, that they may preserve fidelity and justice; who regard not the command of tyrants, nor the swords of the governors, that they may with a constant mind preserve real and solid liberty, wherein true wisdom alone is to be maintained." Thus far that elegant apologist. And certainly the truth of his reasonings was abundantly verified by the experience of the world; Christians getting ground, and conquering opposition by nothing more than their patience and their constancy, till they had subdued the empire itself to the acknowledgment of the truth. And when once the great Constantine had entertained Christianity, it went along with wind and tide, and bore down all before it. And surely it might be no unpleasant survey, to consider what was the true state of paganism under the first Christian emperors, and how and by what degrees that religion, which for so many ages had governed the world, slunk away into obscurity and silence. But this is a business without the bounds of my present enquiry to search into.

[a] Horat. Carm. l. iii. od. 3.

THE LIFE OF SAINT STEPHEN

THE PROTOMARTYR.

THE violent opposition that Christianity at its first appearance met with both from Jews and Gentiles. St. Stephen's kindred unknown. One of the Seventy. The great charity of the primitive believers. Dissension between the Hebrews and Grecians. Hellenists, who. The original of deacons in the Christian church. The nature of their office: the number and qualification of the persons. Stephen's eminent accomplishments for the place. The envy and opposition of the Jews against him. The synagogue of the Libertines, what. Of the Cyrenians, Alexandrians, &c. Their disputation with St. Stephen, and the success of it. False witnesses suborned to depose against him. The several parts of their charge considered. The mighty veneration of the Jews for their temple and the Mosaic institutions. Its destruction by Titus; and their attempts to rebuild it under Julian frustrated by a miracle. Stephen's apology before the Sanhedrin. The Jews rage against him. He is encouraged by a vision. Stoning to death, what kind of punishment; the manner of it among the Jews. St. Stephen's martyrdom. His character, and excellent virtues. The time and place of his suffering. The place and manner of his burial. His body first discovered, when and how. The story of its translation to Constantinople. The miracles said to be done by his relics, and at his *memoriæ*. Several reported by St. Augustine. What credit to be given to them. Miracles, how long and why continued in the church. The vain pretences of the church of Rome.

I. THE Christian religion being designed by God for the reformation of mankind, and the rooting out that barbarism and idolatry wherewith the world was so over-grown, could not but meet with opposition, all corrupt interests conspiring to give it no very welcome entertainment. Vice and error had too long usurped the throne to part with it by a tame and easy resignation, but would rather summon all their forces against a doctrine that openly proclaimed the subversion and ruin of their empire. Hence this sect was every where spoken against, equally opposed both by Jew and Gentile. The Gentiles despised it for its lateness and novelty, as having no antiquity to recommend it, nor could they endure that their philosophy, which then every where ruled the chair, should be controlled by a plain simple

doctrine, that pretended to no elaborate schemes, no insinuative strains of eloquence, no nice and subtle arts of reasoning, no abstruse and sublime speculations. The Jews were vexed to see their expectations of a mighty prince, who should greatly exalt their state, and redeem it from that oppression and slavery under which it groaned, frustrated by the coming of a Messiah, who appeared under all the circumstances of meanness and disgrace; and who was so far from rescuing them from the power of the Roman yoke, that for their obstinacy and unbelief he threatened the final and irrevocable ruin of their country; and by the doctrine he published plainly told them he intended to abolish those ancient Mosaic institutions, for which they had such dear regards, and so solemn a veneration. Accordingly, when he came amongst them, they entertained him with all the instances of cruelty and contempt, and whatever might expose him to the scorn and odium of the people; they vilified and reproached his person, as but the son of a carpenter, a glutton and a drunkard, a traitor and an enemy unto Cæsar; they slighted his doctrine as the talk only of a rude and illiterate person, traduced his miracles as tricks of imposture, and the effects of a black confederacy with the infernal powers. And when all this would not do, they violently laid hands upon him, and took away his life. And now one would have thought their spite and fury should have cooled and died: but malice and revenge are too fierce and hot to stop at the first attempt. On they resolve to go in these bloody methods; and to let the world see that the disciples and followers must expect no better than their Master, it was not many months before they took occasion to refresh their rage in St. Stephen's martyrdom: the history of whose life and death we now come to relate, and to make some brief remarks upon it.

II. The sacred story gives us no particular account either of the country or kindred of this holy man. That he was a Jew is unquestionable, himself sufficiently owns the relation in his apology to the people, but whether originally descended of the stock of Abraham, or of parents incorporated and brought in by the gate of proselytism, whether born at Jerusalem, or among the dispersed in the Gentile provinces, is impossible to determine. Baronius[a] (grounding his conjecture upon an epistle of Lucian,

[a] Ad Ann. XXXIV. n. 275, 298.

of which more afterwards) makes him to have been one of Gamaliel's disciples, and fellow-pupil with St. Paul, who proved afterwards his mortal enemy: but I must confess, I find not in all that epistle the least shadow of probability to countenance that conjecture. Antiquity[b] makes him, probably enough, to have been one of the seventy disciples, chosen by our Lord as coadjutors to the apostles in the ministry of the gospel: and indeed his admirable knowledge in the Christian doctrine, his singular ability to defend the cause of Christ's Messiahship against its most acute opposers, plainly argue him to have been some considerable time trained up under our Saviour's immediate institutions. Certain it is, that he was a man of great zeal and piety, endowed with extraordinary measures of that divine Spirit that was lately shed upon the church, and incomparably furnished with miraculous powers, which peculiarly qualified him for a place of honour and usefulness in the church, whereto he was advanced upon this occasion.

III. The primitive church, among the many instances of religion for which it was famous and venerable, was for none more remarkable than their charity; they lived and loved as brethren, "were of one heart and one soul, and continued together with one accord." Love and charity were the common soul that animated the whole body of believers, and conveyed heat and vital spirits to every part. They prayed and worshipped God in the same place, and fed together at the same table. None could want, for "they had all in common." The rich sold their estates to minister to the necessities of the poor, and deposited the money into one common treasury, the care whereof was committed to the apostles, to see distribution made as every one's case and exigency did require. But in the exactest harmony there will be some jars and discord, heaven only is free from quarrels, and the occasions of offence. The church increasing every day by vast numbers of converts to the faith, the apostles could not exactly superintend the disposure of the church's stock, and the making provision for every part, and were therefore probably forced to take in the help of others, sometimes more and sometimes less, to assist in this affair. By which means a due equality and proportion was not observed, but either through favour and

[b] Epiph. Hæres. XX. Doroth. Synops. de Vit. Apostt. in Bibl. PP. vol. ii. p. 182. ed. de la Bigne, 1575.

partiality, or the oversight of those that managed the matter, some had larger portions, others less relief than their just necessities called for. This begat some present heats and animosities in the first and purest church that ever was, "the Grecians murmuring against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration."[c]

IV. Who these Grecians or Hellenists were, opposed here to the Hebrews, however a matter of some difficulty and dispute, it may not be unuseful to enquire. The opinion that has most generally obtained, is that they were originally Jews, born and bred in Grecian or heathen countries, of "the dispersed among the Gentiles,"[d] (the *διασπορὰ τῶν Ἑλληνῶν*, the word *Ἕλληνες* in the style of the New Testament, as also in the writings of the fathers, being commonly used for the Gentile world,) who accommodated themselves to their manner of living, spake the Greek language, but altogether mixed with Hebraisms and Jewish forms of speech, (and this called *lingua Hellenistica*,) and used no other Bible but the Greek translation of the Septuagint. A notion which Salmasius[e] has taken a great deal of pains to confute, by shewing, that never any people went under that notion and character; that the Jews, in what parts of the world soever they were, were not a distinct nation from those that lived in Palestine; that there never was any such peculiar distinct Hellenistic dialect, nor any such ever mentioned by any ancient writer; that the phrase is very improper to express such a mixed language, yea rather that *Ἑλληνιστὴς* implies one that expresseth himself in better Greek than ordinary, as *Ἀττικιστὴς* denotes one that studies to speak pure Attic Greek. Probable therefore it is, that they were not of the Hebrew race, but Greek or Gentile proselytes, who had either themselves, or in their ancestors, deserted the pagan superstitions, and embodied themselves into the Jewish church, taking upon them circumcision and the observation of the rites of the Mosaic laws, (which kind the Jews call גרים הצדק, "proselytes of justice,") and were now converted to Christianity. That there were at this time great numbers of these proselytes at Jerusalem, is evident; and strange it were, if when at other times they were desirous to

[c] Acts vi. 1.

[d] John vii. 35.

[e] Comment. de Hellenist. Qu. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. præcipue, p. 232, &c. vide etiam inter alios Bez. et Camer. in loc.

have the gospel preached to them, none of them should have been brought over to the faith. Even among the seven made choice of to be deacons, (most, if not all, of whom we may reasonably conclude to have been taken out of these Grecians,) we find one expressly said to have been "a proselyte of Antioch,"[f] as in all likelihood some if not all the other might be proselytes of Jerusalem. And thus wherever we meet with the word Ἑλληνισταὶ or Grecians in the history of the Apostolic Acts, (as it is to be met with in two places more,[g]) we may, and in reason are to understand it. So that these Hellenists (who spake Greek, and used the translation of the seventy) were Jews by religion, and Gentiles by descent; with the Ἕλληνες or Gentiles they had the same common original, with the Jews the same common profession; and therefore are not here opposed to Jews, (which all those might be styled who embrace Judaism and the rites of Moses, though they were not born of Jewish ancestors,) but to the Hebrews, who were Jews both by their religion and their nation. And this may give us some probable account, why the widows of these Hellenists had not so much care taken of them as those of the Hebrews; the persons with whom the apostles in a great measure intrusted the ministration being kinder to those of their own nation, their neighbours, and it may be kindred, than to those who only agreed with them in the profession of the same religion, and who indeed were not generally so capable of contributing to the church's stock as the native Jews, who had lands and possessions, which they "sold and laid at the apostles' feet."

V. The peace and quiet of the church being by this means a little ruffled and discomposed, the apostles, who well understood how much order and unity conduced to the ends of religion, presently called the church together, and told them, that the disposing of the common stock, and the daily providing for the necessities of the poor, however convenient and necessary, was yet a matter of too much trouble and distraction to consist with a faithful discharge of the other parts and duties of their office, and that they did not judge it fit and reasonable to neglect the one, that they might attend the other; that therefore they should choose out among themselves some that were duly qualified, and present them to them, that they might set them apart peculiarly

[f] Acts vi. 5. [g] Acts ix. 29. xi. 20.

to superintend this affair, that so themselves, being freed from these incumbrances, might the more freely and uninterruptedly devote themselves to prayer and preaching of the gospel. Not that the apostles thought the care of the poor an office too much below them, but that this might be discharged by other hands, and they, as they were obliged, the better attend upon things of higher importance, ministeries more immediately serviceable to the souls of men. This was the first original of deacons in the Christian church: they were to "serve tables," that is, to wait upon the necessities of the poor, to make daily provisions for their public feasts, to keep the church's treasure, and to distribute to every one according to their need. And this admirably agrees to one ordinary notion of the word διάκονος in foreign writers,[h] where it is used for that peculiar servant who waited at feasts, whose office it was to distribute the portions to every guest, either according to the command of the ἀρχιτρίκλινος, the orderer of the feast, or according to the rule of equality, to give every one alike. But though it is true this was a main part of the deacon's office, yet was it not the whole. For had this been all, the apostles needed not to have been so exact and curious in their choice of persons, seeing men of an ordinary rank and of a very mean capacity might have served the turn, nor have used such solemn rites of consecration to ordain them to it. No question therefore but their "serving tables" implied also their attendance at the table of the Lord's Supper.[i] For in those days their *agapæ*, or common love-feasts, (whereat both rich and poor sat down together,) were at the same time with the holy eucharist, and both administered every day, so that their ministration respected both the one and the other. And thus we find it was in the practice of the church: for so Justin Martyr[j] tells us it was in his time, that when the president of the assembly had consecrated the eucharist, the deacons distributed the bread and the wine to all that were present, and after carried them to those who were necessarily absent from the congregation. Nor were they restrained to this one particular service, but were in some cases allowed to preach, baptize, and absolve penitents, especially where they had the peculiar warrant and authority of the bishop to bear them out: nor need

[h] Lucian Chronosol. seu de Legg. Saturnal. vol. ii. p. 618. ed. 1687.

[i] Ignat. Epist. ad Trall. Append. Usser. p. 17.

[j] Apol. i. c. 65.

we look far beyond the present story to find St. Philip, one of the deacons here elected, both preaching the gospel and baptizing converts with great success.

VI. That this excellent office might be duly managed, the apostles directed and enjoined the church to nominate such persons as were fitted for it, pious and good men, men of known honesty and integrity, of approved and untainted reputations, furnished and endowed with the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, wise and prudent men, who would discreetly discharge the trust committed to them. The number of these persons was limited to seven, probably for no other reason but because the apostles thought these sufficient for the business; unless we will also suppose the whole body of believers to have been disposed into seven several divisions, for the more orderly and convenient managery of their common feasts and distributions to the poor, and that to each of these a deacon was appointed to superintend and direct them; without further designing any peculiar mystery, which [k]some would fain pick out of it. However the church thought good for a long time to conform to this primitive institution, insomuch that the fathers of the [l]Neo-Cæsarean council ordained, that in no city, how great soever, there should be more than seven deacons, a canon which they found upon this place: and [m]Sozomen tells us, that in his time, though many other churches kept to no certain number, yet that the church of Rome, in compliance with this apostolical example, admitted no more than seven deacons in it. The people were infinitely pleased with the order and determination which the apostles had made in this matter, and accordingly made choice of seven, whom they presented to the apostles, who (as the solemnity of the thing required) first made their address to heaven by prayer for the divine blessing upon the undertaking, and then laid their hands upon them; an ancient symbolic rite of investiture and consecration to any extraordinary office. The issue of all was, that the Christian religion got ground and prospered, converts came flocking over to the faith, yea, very many of the priests themselves, and of their tribe and family, of all others the most zealous and pertinacious asserters of the Mosaic constitutions, the bitterest adversaries of the Christian

[k] Vid. Baron. ad Ann. 112. n. 7.

[l] Conc. Neo-Cæs. can. xv.

[m] Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. c. 19.

doctrine, the subtlest defenders of their religion, laid aside their prejudices, and embraced the gospel. So uncontrolable is the efficacy of divine truth, as very often to lead its greatest enemies in triumph after it.

VII. The first and chief of the persons here elected, (who were all chosen out of the seventy disciples, as [n] Epiphanius informs us,) and whom the ancients frequently style archdeacon, as having the τὰ πρωτεῖα (as [o] Chrysostom speaks) the primacy and precedence among these new-elected officers, was our St. Stephen, whom the author of the Epistle to Hero,[p] under the name of Ignatius, as also the interpolator of that to the Trallians,[q] makes in a more peculiar manner to have been deacon to St. James, as bishop of Jerusalem. He is not only placed first in the catalogue, but particularly recommended under this character, "a man full of faith, and of the Holy Ghost;" he was exquisitely skilled in all parts of the Christian doctrine, and fitted with great eloquence and elocution to declare and publish it; enriched with many miraculous gifts and powers, and a spirit of courage and resolution to encounter the most potent opposition. He preached and pleaded the cause of Christianity with a firm and undaunted mind; and that nothing might be wanting to render it effectual, he confirmed his doctrine by many public and unquestionable miracles, plain evidences and demonstrations of the truth and divinity of that religion that he taught. But truth and innocency, and a better cause, is the usual object of bad men's spite and hatred. The zeal and diligence of his ministry, and the extraordinary success that did attend it, quickly awakened the malice of the Jews, and there wanted not those that were ready to oppose and contradict him. So natural is it for error to rise up against the truth, as light and darkness mutually resist and expel each other.

VIII. There were at Jerusalem besides the temple, where sacrifices and the more solemn parts of their religion were performed, vast numbers of synagogues for prayer and expounding of the law, whereof the Jews themselves tell us there were not less than four hundred and eighty in that city. In these, or at least some apartments adjoining to them, there were schools or

[n] Hæres. xx.
[o] Homil. xv. in Act. s. l. vol. ix. p. 119.
[p] Epist. ad Heron. c. 3. in Cotelerii Patres Apostt. vol. ii. p. 109.
[q] Ep. ad Trall. c. 7. p. 63. ibid.

colleges for the instruction and education of scholars in their laws: many whereof were erected at the charges of the Jews who lived in foreign countries, and thence denominated after their names; and hither they were wont to send their youth to be trained up in the knowledge of the law, and the mysterious rites of their religion. Of these, five combined together to send some of their societies to encounter and oppose St. Stephen. An unequal match! *ἀνδρῶν ἀσεβεστάτων Πεντάπολις* (as Chrysostom[r] calls it), a whole army of wicked adversaries, the chief of five several synagogues, are brought out against one, and him but a stripling too, as if they intended to oppress him rather with the number of assailants, than to overcome him by strength of argument.

IX. The first of them were those of the synagogue of the Libertines; but who these Libertines were, is variously conjectured. Passing by Junius's[s] conceit of *Labra* signifying in the Egyptian language the whole precinct that was under one synagogue, whence *Labratenu*, or corruptly (says he) *Libertini*, must denote them that belonged to the synagogue of the Egyptians, omitting this as altogether absurd and fantastical, besides that the synagogue of the Alexandrians is mentioned afterwards; Suidas[t] tells us it was the name of a nation, but in what part of the world this people or country were, he leaves us wholly in the dark. Most probably therefore it relates to the Jews that were emancipated and set at liberty. For the understanding whereof we must know that when Pompey had subdued Judæa, and reduced it under the Roman government, he carried great numbers of Jews captive to Rome, as also did those generals that succeeded him, and that in such multitudes, that when the Jewish state sent an embassy to Augustus, Josephus[u] tells us, that there were about eight thousand of the Jews who then lived at Rome, that joined themselves to the ambassadors at their arrival thither. Here they continued in the condition of slaves, till by degrees they were manumitted and set at liberty, which was generally done in the time of Tiberius, who (as Philo[x] informs) suffered the Jews to inhabit the Transtiberine region, most whereof were Libertines, such who having been made cap-

[r] Orat. in S. Steph. a. 1. vol. viii. p. 18. inter spuria.
[s] Jun. in loc. et in Gen. viii. 4.
[t] Suid. in voc. *Λιβερτῖνοι*.
[u] Antiq. Jud. lib. xvii. c. 12.
[x] De legat. ad Gaium. vol. ii. p. 568.

tives by the fortune of war, had been set free by their masters, and permitted to live after the manner of their ancestors. They had their proseuchas or oratories, where they assembled, and performed their devotions according to the religion of their country: every year they sent a contribution instead of first-fruits to Jerusalem, and deputed certain persons to offer sacrifices for them at the temple. Indeed afterwards, (as we find in Tacitus[y] and Suetonius[z],) by an order of senate, he caused four thousand *Libertini generis*, of those Libertine Jews, so many as were young and lusty, to be transported into Sardinia to clear that island of robbers, (the occasion whereof is related by Josephus,[a]) and the rest, both Jews and proselytes, to be banished the city, Tacitus adds, Italy itself. This occasion, I doubt not, many of these Libertine Jews took to return home into their own country, and at Jerusalem to erect this synagogue for themselves and the use of their countrymen who from Rome resorted thither, styling it, from themselves, the synagogue of the Libertines; and such questionless St. Luke means, when among the several nations that were at Jerusalem at the day of Pentecost, he mentions "strangers of Rome," and they "both Jews and proselytes."

X. The next antagonists were of the synagogue of the Cyrenians, that is, Jews who inhabited Cyrene, a noted city of Libya, where (as appears from a rescript of Augustus[b]) great numbers of them did reside, and who were annually wont to send their holy treasure or accustomed offerings to Jerusalem, where also (as we see) they had their peculiar synagogue. Accordingly we find among the several nations at Jerusalem, those who "dwelt in the parts of Libya about Cyrene."[c] Thus we read of Simon of Cyrene,[d] whom the Jews compelled to bear our Saviour's cross; of Lucius of Cyrene,[e] a famous doctor in the church of Antioch; of men of Cyrene, who upon the persecution that followed St. Stephen's death, "were scattered abroad from Jerusalem, and preached as far as Phœnice, Cyprus, and Antioch."[f] The third were those of the synagogue of the Alexandrians, there being a mighty intercourse between the Jews at Jerusalem and Alexandria, where what vast multitudes of them dwelt, and

[y] Annal. lib. ii. c. 85. [z] Sueton. in vit. Tib. c. 36. [a] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 5.
[b] Apud Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xvi. c. 10. [c] Acts ii. 10. [d] Matt. xxvii. 32.
[e] Acts xiii. 1. [f] Acts xi. 19, 20.

what great privileges they enjoyed, is too well known to need insisting on. The fourth were them of Cilicia, a known province of the Lesser Asia, the metropolis whereof was Tarsus, well stored with Jews; it was St. Paul's birth-place, whom we cannot doubt to have borne a principal part among these assailants, finding him afterwards so active and busy in St. Stephen's death. The last were those of the synagogue of Asia: where by Asia we are probably to understand no more than part of Asia properly so called, (as that was but part of Asia Minor,) viz. that part that lay near to Ephesus, in which sense it is plain Asia is to be taken in the New Testament. And what infinite numbers of Jews were in these parts, and especially at Ephesus, the history of the Apostles' Acts does sufficiently inform us.

XI. These were the several parties that were to take the field, persons of very different countries, men skilled in the subtleties of their religion, "who all at once rose up to dispute with Stephen." What the particular subject of the disputation was, we find not, but may with St. Chrysostom[g] conceive them to have accosted him after this manner. "Tell us, young man, what comes into thy mind thus rashly to reproach the Deity? Why dost thou study with such cunningly-contrived discourses to inveigle and persuade the people? and with deceitful miracles to undo the nation? Here lies the crisis of the controversy. Is it like that he should be God, who was born of Mary; that the Maker of the world should be 'the son of a carpenter?' was not Bethlehem the place of his nativity, and Nazareth of his education? canst thou imagine him to be God, that was born upon earth? who was so poor that he was wrapt up in swaddling clothes and thrown into a manger? who was forced to fly from the rage of Herod, and to wash away his pollution by being baptized in Jordan? who was subject to hunger and thirst, to sleep and weariness? who being bound, was not able to escape, nor being buffeted, to rescue or revenge himself? who, when he was hanged, could not come down from the cross, but underwent a cursed and a shameful death? wilt thou make us believe that he is in heaven, whom we know to have been buried in his grave? that he should be the life of the dead, who is so near akin to mortality himself? Is it likely that God should suffer such things as these? would he not rather with an angry breath have struck his ad-

[g] Orat. in S. Steph. s. i. vol. viii. p. 18. inter spuria.

versaries dead at the first approach, and set them beyond the reach of making attempts upon his own person? either cease therefore to delude the people with these impostures, or prepare thyself to undergo the same fate."

XII. In answer to which we may imagine St. Stephen thus to have replied upon them. "And why, sirs, should these things seem so incredible? have you not by you the writings of the prophets? do you not read the books of Moses, and profess yourselves to be his disciples? did not Moses say, 'a prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me, him shall ye hear?'[h] Have not the prophets long since foretold that he should be born at Bethlehem, and conceived in the womb of a virgin? that he should fly into Egypt? that he should 'bear our griefs and carry our sorrows?'[i] that they should 'pierce his hands and his feet,'[k] and hang him on a tree? that he should be buried, rise again, and ascend up to heaven with a shout? Either now shew me some other in whom all these prophecies were accomplished, or learn with me to adore as God our crucified Saviour. Blind and ignorant that you are of the predictions of Moses, you thought you crucified a mere man; but had you known him, you would not have crucified the Lord of Glory: you denied the Holy One, and the Just, and desired a murderer to be granted to you, but put to death the Prince of Life."

XIII. This is the sum of what that ingenious and eloquent father conceives St. Stephen did, or might have returned to their enquiries. Which, whatever it was, was delivered with that life and zeal, that evidence and strength of reason, that freedom and majesty of elocution, that his antagonists had not one word to say against it; "they were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake."[l] So particularly did our Lord make good what he had promised to his disciples, "Settle it in your hearts, not to meditate before what you shall answer, for I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist."[m] Hereupon the men presently began to retreat, and departed the lists, equally divided between shame and grief. Ashamed they were to be so openly baffled by one single adversary; vexed and troubled that they

[h] Deut. xviii. 15. [i] Isai. liii. 4. [k] Ps. xxii. 16.
[l] Acts vi. 10. [m] Luke xxi. 14, 15.

had not carried the day, and that the religion which they opposed had hereby received such signal credit and confirmation. And now being no longer able *ἀντοφθαλμεῖν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ*[n] (as the addition in some very ancient manuscript copies does elegantly express it) "with open face to resist the truth," they betake themselves to clancular arts, to sly and sinister designs, hoping to accomplish by craft and subtlety what they could not carry by fairness and force of reason.

XIV. To this purpose they tamper with men of debauched profligate consciences, to undermine him by false accusations, that so he might fall as a sacrifice to their spite and malice, and that by the hand of public justice. St. Chrysostom brings them in with smooth and plausible insinuations encouraging the men to this mischievous attempt. "Come on, worthy and honourable friends, lend your assistance to our declining cause, and let your tongues minister to our counsels and contrivances. Behold a new patron and advocate of the Galilean is started up: one that worships a God that was buried, and preaches a Creator shut up in a tomb; who thinks that he whom the soldiers despised and mocked upon earth, is now conversing with the host of angels in heaven, and promises that he shall come to judge the world, who was not able to vindicate and right himself: his disciples denied him, as if they thought him an impostor, and yet this man affirms, that every tongue shall confess and do homage to him: himself was not able to come down from the cross, and yet he talks of his second coming from heaven; the vilest miscreants reproached him at his death, that he could not save either himself or them, and yet this man peremptorily proclaims him to be the Saviour of the world. Did you ever behold such boldness and impudence? or have you ever heard words of so much madness and blasphemy? Do you therefore undertake the cause, and find out some specious colour and pretence, and thereby purchase to yourselves glory and renown from the present generation."[o]

XV. The wretches were easily persuaded to the undertaking, and to swear whatever their tutors should direct them. And now the cause is ripe for action, the case is divulged, the elders and the scribes are dealt with, (and a little rhetoric would serve

[n] Cod. Bezæ MS. et 2 Codd. H. Steph.

[o] Orat. in S. Steph. s. 2. vol. viii. p. 1. inter spuria.

to persuade them,) the people possessed with the horror of the fact, the Sanhedrim is summoned, the malefactor haled to the bar, the witnesses produced, and the charge given in. "'They suborned men which said, we have heard him speak blasphemous words against Moses and against God; the false witnesses said, this man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against this holy place and the law: for we have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered us:'[p] that is," (that we may still proceed with that excellent man in opening the several parts of the charge) "he has dared to speak against our wise and great lawgiver, and blasphemed that Moses, for whom our whole nation has so just a veneration; that Moses who had the whole creation at his beck, who freed our ancestors from the house of bondage, and with his rod turned the waters into walls, and by his prayer drowned the Egyptian army in the bottom of the sea; who kindled a fiery pillar for a light by night, and without ploughing or sowing fed them with manna and bread from heaven, and with his rod pierced the rock and gave them drink. But what do we speak of Moses, when he has whetted his tongue, and stretched it out against God himself, and set up one that is dead as an anti-god to the great Creator of the world? He has not blushed to reproach the temple, that holy place, where the divine oracles are read, and the writings of the prophets set forth, the repository of the shew-bread and the heavenly manna, of the ark of the covenant, and the rod of Aaron; where the hoary and venerable heads of the high-priests, the dignity of the elders, and the honour of the scribes is seen: this is the place which he has reviled and set at naught; and not this only, but the law itself; which he boldly declares to be but a shadow, and the ancient rites but types and figures: he affirms the Galilean to be greater than Moses, and the Son of Mary stronger than our lawgiver; he has not honoured the dignity of the elders, nor had any reverence to the society of the scribes. He threatens us with a dead master; the young man dreams, sure, when he talks of Jesus of Nazareth rising again, and destroying this holy place: he little considers with how much wisdom it was contrived, with what infinite charges it was erected, and how long before it was brought to its perfection. And yet, forsooth, this

[p] Acts vi. 11—14.

Jesus of Nazareth must destroy it, and 'change the customs which Moses delivered to us:' our most holy sabbath must be turned out of doors, circumcision abolished, the new-moons rejected, and the feast of tabernacles laid aside; our sacrifices must no longer be accepted with God, our sprinklings and solemn purgations must be done away: as if we knew not this Nazarene's end, and as if one that is dead could revenge himself upon them that are living. How many of the ancient prophets and holy men have been cruelly murdered, whose death none ever yet undertook to revenge? and yet this man must needs appear in the cause of this crucified Nazarene, and tell us of a dead man that shall judge us: silly impostor! to fright us with a judge who is himself imprisoned in his own grave."

XVI. This then is the sum of the charge, that he should threaten the ruin of the temple, and the abolition of the Mosaic rites, and blasphemously affirm that Jesus of Nazareth should take away that religion which had been established by Moses, and by God himself. Indeed the Jews had an unmeasurable reverence and veneration for the Mosaic institutions, and could not with any patience endure to hear of their being laid aside, but accounted it a kind of blasphemy so much as to mention their dissolution; little thinking in how short a time these things which they now so highly valued should be taken away, and their temple itself laid level with the ground; which a few years after came to pass by the Roman army under the conduct of Titus Vespasian the Roman general, when the city was sacked, and the temple burnt to the ground. And so final and irrevocable was the sentence by which it was doomed to ruin, that it could never afterwards be repaired, heaven itself immediately declaring against it. Insomuch that when Julian the emperor, out of spite and opposition to the Christians, was resolved to give all possible encouragement to the Jews, and not only permitted but commanded them to rebuild the temple, furnishing them with all charges and materials necessary for the work, (hoping that hereby he should prove our Saviour a false prophet,) no sooner had they begun to clear the rubbish, and lay the foundation, but a terrible earthquake shattered the foundation, killed the undertakers, and shaked down all the buildings that were round about it. And when they again attempted it the next day, great balls of fire suddenly breaking out from under the

foundations consumed the workmen and those that were near it, and forced them to give over the attempt. A strange instance of the displeasure of heaven towards a place which God had fatally devoted to destruction. And this related not only by Christian writers,[q] but, as to the substance of it, by the heathen historian himself.[r] And the same curse has ever since pursued and followed them, they having been destitute of temple and sacrifice for sixteen hundred years together. "Were that bloody Sanhedrim now in being, and here present, (says one of the [s]ancients, speaking of this accusation,) I would ask them about those things for which they were here so much concerned, what is now become of your once famous and renowned temple? where are those vast stones, and incredible piles of building? where is that gold that once equalled all the other materials of the temple? what are become of your legal sacrifices? your rams and calves, your lambs and heifers, pigeons, turtles, and scapegoats? if they therefore condemned Stephen to die, that none of these miseries might befall them, let them shew which of them they avoided by putting him to death; but if they escaped none of them, why then did they imbrue their hands in his innocent blood?

XVII. "The court being thus set, and the charge brought in and opened, that nothing might be wanting to carry on their mock scene of justice, they gave him liberty to defend himself. In order whereunto, while the judges of the Sanhedrim earnestly looked upon him, they discovered the appearances of an extraordinary splendour and brightness upon his face, the innocency of his cause and the clearness of his conscience manifesting themselves in the brightness and cheerfulness of his countenance. The high-priest having asked him whether guilty or not, he in a large discourse pleaded his own cause to this effect: That what apprehensions soever they might have of the stateliness and magnificence of their temple, of the glory and grandeur of its services and ministrations, of those venerable customs and usages that were amongst them, as if they looked upon them as indispensably necessary, and that it was blasphemy to think God might be

[q] Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 20. Sozom. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 22.

[r] A. Marcell. l. xxiii. non longe ab init.

[s] Greg. Nyss. Orat. in S. Steph. vol. iii. p. 359.

acceptably served without them; yet that if they looked back to the first originals of their nation, they would find, that God chose Abraham to be the father and founder of it, not when he lived in a Jerusalem, and worshipped God with the pompous services of a temple, but when he dwelt among the idolatrous nations: that then it was that God called him from the impieties of his father's house, and admitted him to a familiar acquaintance and intercourse with himself; wherein he continued for many years without any of those external and visible rites which they laid so much stress upon; and that when at last God entered into covenant with him, to give his posterity the land of Canaan, and that in 'his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed,' he bound it upon him with no other ceremony, but only that of circumcision, as the badge and seal of that federal compact that was between them: that without any other fixed rite but this, the succeeding patriarchs worshipped God for several ages, till the times of Moses, a wise, learned, and prudent person, to whom God particularly revealed himself, and appointed him ruler over his people, to conduct them out of the house of bondage; a great and famous prophet, and who was continually inculcating this lesson to their ancestors, 'A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren like unto me, him shall ye hear;' that is, that God in the latter days would send amongst them a mighty prophet, who should do as Moses had done, introduce new rites, and set up more excellent institutions and ways of worship, to whom they should yield all diligent attention and ready obedience: that when their forefathers had frequently lapsed into idolatry, God commanded Moses to set up a tabernacle, as a place of public and solemn worship, where he would manifest himself, and receive the addresses and adorations of his people; which yet however was but a transient and temporary ministration, and though erected by the immediate order of God himself, was yet after some years to give place to a standing temple designed by David, but built by Solomon; stately indeed and majestic, but not absolutely necessary, seeing that infinite Being that made the world, who 'had the heaven for his throne and the earth for his footstool,' could not be confined within a material temple, nor tied to any particular way of worship; and that therefore there could be no such absolute and indispensable necessity for

those Mosaical rites and ceremonies, as they pretended; especially when God was resolved to introduce a new and better scene and state of things. But it was the humour of this loose and unruly, this refractory and undisciplinable generation, (as it ever had been of their ancestors,) to 'resist the Holy Ghost,' and oppose him in all those methods, whereby he sought to reform and reclaim them; that there were few of the prophets whom their forefathers had not persecuted, and slain them that had foretold the Messiah's coming, the 'just and the holy Jesus,' as they their unhappy posterity had actually betrayed and murdered him, without any due reverence and regard to that law, which had been solemnly delivered to them by the ministry of angels, and which he came to fulfil and perfect.

XVIII. "The holy man was going on in the application, when the patience of his auditors, which had hitherto holden out, at this began to fail; that fire which gently warms at a distance, scorches when it comes too near; their consciences being sensibly stung by the too near approach of the truths he delivered, they began to fume and fret, and express all the signs of rage and fury. But he, regardless of what was done below, had his eyes and thoughts directed to a higher and a nobler object, and looking up 'saw the heavens opened,' and some bright and sensible appearances of the divine majesty, and the holy Jesus clothed in the robes of our glorified nature, not sitting (in which sense he is usually described in Scripture) but 'standing' (as ready to protect and help, to crown and reward his suffering servant) 'at the right hand of God.' So easily can heaven delight and entertain us in the want of all earthly comforts; and divine consolations are then nearest to us, when human assistances are farthest from us. The good man was infinitely ravished with the vision, and it inspired his soul with a fresh zeal and courage, and made him long to arrive at that happy place, and little concerned what use they would make of it, he could not but communicate and impart his happiness; the cup was full, and it easily overflowed; he tells his adversaries what himself beheld, 'Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God.'"

XIX. The heavenly vision had very different effects, it encouraged Stephen, but enraged the Jews; who now taking it *pro confesso* that he was a blasphemer, resolved upon his death, with-

out any further process. How furious and impatient is misguided zeal! they did not stand to procure a warrant from the Roman governor, (without whose leave they had not power to put any man to death,) nay, they had not the patience to stay for the judicial sentence of the Sanhedrim, but acted the part of zealots, (who were wont to execute vengeance upon capital offenders without staying for the ordinary formalities of justice,) and raising a great noise and clamour, and "stopping their ears," that they might hear no further blasphemies, and be deaf to all cries for mercy, they unanimously rushed upon him. But zeal is superstitious in its maddest fury: they would not execute him within the walls, lest they should pollute the holy city with his blood, but hurried him "without the city," and there fell upon him with a shower of stones. Stoning was one of the four capital punishments among the Jews, inflicted upon greater and more enormous crimes, especially blasphemy, idolatry, and strange worship: and the Jews tell us of many particular circumstances used in this sort of punishment.[t] The malefactor was to be led out of the consistory, at the door whereof a person was to stand with a napkin in his hand, and a man on horseback at some distance from him, that if any one came and said, he had something to offer for the deliverance of the malefactor, upon the moving of the napkin the horseman might give notice, and bring the offender back. He had two grave persons to go along with him to exhort him to confession by the way; a crier went before him, proclaiming who he was, what his crime, and who the witnesses; being come near the place of execution (which was two cubits from the ground) he was first stripped, and then stoned, and afterwards hanged, where he was to continue till sunset, and then being taken down, he and his gibbet were both buried together.

XX. Such were their customs in ordinary cases, but, alas! their greediness of St. Stephen's blood would not admit these tedious proceedings; only one formality we find them using, which the law required, which was, that "the hands of the witnesses should be first upon him, to put him to death, and afterward the hands of all the people:"[u] a law surely contrived with great wisdom and prudence, that so the witness, if forsworn, might derive the guilt of the blood upon himself, and the rest be free; "so thou shalt put the evil away from among you." Ac-

[t] Vid. P. Fag. in Exod. xxi. 16.

[u] Deut. xvii. 7.

cordingly here the witnesses putting off their upper garments, (which rendered them less nimble and expedite, being loose and long, according to the mode of those Eastern countries,) laid them down at Saul's feet, a zealous youth, at that time student under Gamaliel, the fiery zeal and activity of whose temper made him busy, no doubt, in this, as we find he was in the following persecution; an action which afterwards cost him tears and penitent reflections, himself preferring the indictment against himself: "When the blood of thy martyr Stephen was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him."[w] Thus prepared they began the tragedy, whose example was soon followed by the multitude. All which time the innocent and holy man was upon his knees, sending up his prayers faster to heaven than they could rain down stones upon him, piously recommending his own soul to God, and charitably interceding for his murderers, that God would not charge this guilt upon them, nor severely reckon with them for it; and then gave up the ghost, or, as the sacred historian elegantly expresses it, "fell asleep." So soft a pillow is death to a good man, so willingly, so quietly does he leave the world, as a weary labourer goes to bed at night. What storms or tempests soever may follow him while he lives, his sun, in spite of all the malice and cruelty of his enemies, sets serene and calm: "Mark the perfect and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace."[x]

XII. Thus died St. Stephen, the protomartyr of the Christian faith, obtaining *τὸν αὐτῷ φερώνυμον Στέφανον* (says Eusebius),[y] a reward truly answering to his name, a "crown." He was a man in whom the virtues of a divine life were very eminent and illustrious; "a man full of faith, and of the Holy Ghost." Admirable his zeal for God and for religion, for the propagating whereof he refused no pains, declined no troubles or difficulties: his courage was not baffled either with the angry frowns, or the fierce threatenings of his enemies, nor did his spirit sink, though he stood alone, and had neither friend nor kinsman to assist and comfort him; his constancy firm and unshaken, notwithstanding temptations on the one hand, and the dangers that assaulted him on the other: in all the oppositions that he met with, under all

[w] Acts xxii. 20. [x] Ps. xxxvii. 37. [y] Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 1.

the torments and sufferings that he underwent, he discovered nothing but the meek and innocent temper of a lamb, never betraying one passionate and revengeful word, but calmly resigned up his soul to God. He had a charity large enough to cover the highest affronts, and the greatest wrongs and injuries that were put upon him; and accordingly, after the example of his Master, he prayed for the pardon of his murderers, even while they were raking in his blood. And "the effectual fervent prayer of the righteous man availed much;"[z] heaven was not deaf to his petition, as appeared in the speedy conversion of St. Paul,[a] whose admirable change we may reasonably suppose to have been the birth of the good man's dying groans, the fruit of his prayer and interest in heaven. And what set off all these excellencies, he was not elated with lofty and arrogant conceits, nor "thought more highly of himself than he ought to think,"[b] esteeming meanly of, and preferring others before himself. And therefore the author of the "Apostolic Constitutions"[c] brings in the apostles commending St. Stephen for his humility, that though he was so great a person, and honoured with such singular and extraordinary visions and revelations, yet never attempted any thing above his place, did not consecrate the eucharist, nor confer orders upon any; but (as became a martyr of Christ *τὴν εὐταξίαν ἀποσώζειν*, to preserve order and decency) he contented himself with the station of a deacon, wherein he persevered to the last minute of his life.

XXII. His martyrdom happened (say some) three years after our Saviour's passion, which Euodius, bishop of Antioch, (if that epistle were his cited by Nicephorus,[d] which it is probable enough was not,) extends to no less than seven years. Doubtless a very wide mistake. Sure I am, Eusebius affirms,[e] that it was not long after his ordination to his deacon's office; and the author of the *Excerpta Chronologica*, published by Scaliger,[f] more particularly, that it was some few days less than eight months after our Lord's ascension. He is generally supposed to have been young at the time of his martyrdom; and Chrysostom[g] makes no scruple of styling him "young man" at every turn, though

[z] James v. 16. [a] See August. Serm. CCCLXXXII. de S. Steph. vol. v. p. 1483.
[b] Rom. xii. 3. [c] Lib. viii. c. 46. [d] Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 3.
[e] Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 1. [f] Ad calc. Chron. Euseb. p. 82.
[g] Orat. in S. Steph. vol. viii. p. 17. inter spuria.

for what reason, I confess I am yet to learn. He was martyred without the walls, near the gate on the north side that leads to Cedar, (as Lucian tells us,[h]) and which was afterwards called St. Stephen's Gate;[i] anciently (say some) styled the Gate of Ephraim;[k] or, as others, the Valley Gate, or the Fish Gate;[l] which stood on the east side of the city, where the place, we are told, is still shewed, where St. Paul sat when he kept the clothes of them that slew him. Over this place (wherever it was) the empress Eudocia,[m] wife of Theodosius, when she repaired the walls of Jerusalem, erected a beautiful and stately church to the honour of St. Stephen, wherein she herself was buried afterwards. The great stone upon which he stood while he suffered martyrdom, is said to have been afterwards removed into the church built to the honour of the apostles upon Mount Sion,[n] and there kept with great care and reverence: yea, one of the stones wherewith he was killed, being preserved by some Christian, was afterwards (as we are told[o]) carried into Italy, and laid up as a choice treasure at Ancona, and a church there built to the memory of the martyr.

XXIII. The church received a great wound by the death of this pious and good man, and could not but express a very deep resentment of it: "Devout men" (probably proselytes) "carried Stephen to his burial, and made great lamentation for him."[p] They carried, or, as the word *συνεκόμισαν* properly signifies, they *dressed* him up, and prepared the dead body for the burial. For we cannot reasonably suppose, that the Jews being at this time so mightily enraged against him, the apostles would think it prudent further to provoke the exasperated humour by making a solemn and pompous funeral. His burial (if we might believe one of the ancients,[q] who pretends it was revealed to him in a vision by Gamaliel, whom many of the ancients make to have been a Christian convert) was on this manner. The Jewish Sanhedrim having given order that his carcase should remain in

[h] Ep. de Invent. S. Steph. ap. Sur. ad Aug. III.

[i] Bed. de locis sanctis, c. 1. vol. iii. p. 487.

[k] Brocardus, descript. terræ sanctæ, c. viii. p. 35. [l] Cotovic. Itin. l. ii. c. 11.

[m] Evagr. Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 22. [n] Bed. de locis sanctis, c. 3. vol. iii. p. 489.

[o] Bar. not. in Martyr. Rom. ad Aug. III. p. 341. ex Martyrol. S. Cyriac.

[p] Acts viii. 2.

[q] Lucian. Ep. de invent. S. Steph. in ap. Aug. opp. vol. vii. et apud Bar. ad ann. 415. vid. Niceph. l. xiv. c. 9.

the place of its martyrdom to be consumed by wild beasts, here it lay for some time night and day, untouched either by beast or bird of prey. Till Gamaliel, compassionating the case of the holy martyr, persuaded some religious Christian proselytes, who dwelt at Jerusalem, and furnished them with all things necessary for it, to go with all possible secrecy and fetch off his body. They brought it away in his own carriage, and conveyed it to a place called Caphargamala, (corruptly, as is probable, for Caphargamaliel, otherwise כפר גמלא, properly signifies the *Town of Camels*), that is, the village of Gamaliel, twenty miles distant from Jerusalem; where a solemn mourning was kept for him seventy days at Gamaliel's charge, who also caused him to be buried in the east side of his own monument, where afterwards he was interred himself. The Greek Menæon[r] adds, that his body was put into a coffin made of the wood of the tree called *persea*, (this was a large beautiful Egyptian tree, as Theophrastus tells us,[s] of which they were wont to make statues, beds, tables, &c.) though how they came by such very particular intelligence (there being nothing of it in Gamaliel's revelation) I am not able to imagine. Johannes Phocas,[t] a Greek writer of the middle age of the church, agrees in the relation of his interment by Gamaliel; but adds, that he was first buried in Mount Sion, in the house where the apostles were assembled when our Lord came in to them, "the doors being shut," after his resurrection, and afterwards removed by Gamaliel to another place, which (says he[u]) was on the left side the city, as it looks towards Samaria, where a famous monastery was built afterwards.

XXIV. But wherever his body was interred, it rested quietly for several ages, till we hear of its being found out in the reign of Honorius; for then, as Sozomen informs us,[x] it was discovered at the same time with the bones of the prophet Zachary, an account of both which he promises to give; and having spoken of that of the prophet, there abruptly ends his history. But what is wanting in him is fully supplied by other hands, especially the forementioned Lucian,[y] presbyter of the town of Caphargamala

[r] Menæon Græcor. τῇ κστ' τοῦ Δεκεμβρ. sub. lit. Ζ. 111.
[s] Histor. Plant. l. iv. c. 2.
[t] Ἔκφρασ. τῶν ἁγ. τόπων, &c. c. xiv. p. 19. edit. Allat.
[u] Ibid. c. xv. p. 25.
[x] Hist. Eccl. l. ix. c. 16, 17.
[y] Lucian. Ep. de invent. S. Steph. in ap. Aug. opp. vol. vii. et Phot. Cod. CLXXI.

in the diocese of Jerusalem, who is very large and punctual in his account, the sum whereof (so far as concerns the present case, and is material to relate) is this. Sleeping one night in the *baptisterium* of his church, (this was anno 415. Honor. Imper. 21.) there appeared to him a grave venerable old man, who told him he was Gamaliel, bade him go to John bishop of Jerusalem, and will him to remove his remains and some others (whereof St. Stephen was the principal) that were with him from the place where they lay. Three several times the vision appeared to him before he would be fully satisfied in the thing, and then he acquainted the bishop with it, who commanded him to search after the place. After some attempts, he found the place of their repository, and then gave the bishop notice, who came and brought two other bishops, Eleutherius of Sebaste and Eleutherius of Hiericho, along with him. The monument being opened, they found an inscription upon St. Stephen's tomb-stone in deep letters, "CELIEL," signifying (says mine author) the "Servant of God;" at the opening of the coffin there was an earthquake, and a very pleasant and delightful fragrancy came from it, and several miraculous cures were done by it. The remains being closed up again, (only some few bones, and a little of the dust that was taken out, and bestowed upon Lucian,) were with great triumph and rejoicing conveyed to the church that stood upon Mount Sion, the place where he himself while alive had discharged the office of a deacon. I add no more of this, but that this story is not only mentioned by Photius,[z] and before him by Marcellinus Comes,[a] sometime chancellor or secretary to Justinian, afterwards emperor, (who sets it down as done in the very same year, and under the same consuls wherein Lucian's Epistle reports it); but before, both by Gennadius,[b] presbyter of Marseilles, who lived anno 490, and many years before, and consequently not long after the time of Lucian himself; who also adds, that Lucian wrote a relation of it in Greek to all the churches, which Avitus, a Spanish presbyter, translated into Latin, whose epistle is prefixed to it, wherein he gives an account of it to Balchonius bishop of Braga, and sent it by Orosius into Spain.

XXV. These remains (whether before or after, the reader

[z] Phot. Cod. CLXXI.

[a] Marcel. Chron. Indict. xiii. p. m. 17.

[b] De Script. Eccl. c. 46, 47.

must judge by the sequel of the story, though I question whether he will have faith enough to believe all the circumstances of it) were translated to Constantinople upon this occasion. Alexander,[c] a nobleman of the Senatorian order, having a particular veneration for the protomartyr, had erected an oratory to him in Palestine, commanding that himself when dead, being put into a coffin like that of St. Stephen, should be buried by him. Eight years after, his lady, (whose name, say some, was Juliana,) removing to Constantinople, resolved to take her husband's body along with her: but in a hurry she chanced to mistake St. Stephen's coffin for that of her husband, and so set forward on her journey. But it soon betrayed itself by an extraordinary odour, and some miraculous effects: the fame whereof flying before to Constantinople, had prepared the people to conduct it with great joy and solemnity into the imperial palace. Which yet could not be effected: for the sturdy mules that carried the treasure being come as far as Constantine's baths, would not advance one step further. And when unreasonably whipped and pricked, they spake aloud, and told those that conducted them, that the martyr was to be reposed and interred in that place: which was accordingly done, and a beautiful church built there. But certainly they that first added this passage to the story had been at a great loss for invention, had not the story of Balaam's ass been upon record in Scripture. I confess Baronius[d] seems not over-forward to believe this relation, not for the trifling and ridiculous improbabilities of it, but only because he could not well reconcile it with the time of its being first found out by Lucian. Indeed my authors tell us, that this was done in the time of Constantine, Metrophanes being then bishop of Constantinople, and that it was only some part of his remains, buried again by some devout Christians, that was discovered in a vision to Lucian; and that the empress Pulcheria, by the help of her brother Theodosius, procured from the bishop of Jerusalem the martyr's right hand, which, being arrived at Constantinople, was with singular reverence and rejoicing brought into the palace, and there laid up, and a stately and magnificent church erected for it, set off with all rich and costly ornaments and advantages.

[c] Niceph. Hist. Eccl. lib. xiv. c. 9. Eadem habet Menæon Græc. Αὐγουστ. τῇ β'. sub. lit. β'. 11.

[d] Bar. ad Ann. 439.

XXVI. [e]Authors mention another remove, anno 439, (and let the curious and inquisitive after these matters reconcile the different accounts,) of his remains to Constantinople by the empress Eudocia, wife to Theodosius, who having been at Jerusalem upon some pious and charitable designs, carried back with her to the imperial city the remains of St. Stephen, which she carefully laid up in the church of St. Laurence. The Roman Martyrology says,[f] that in the time of pope Pelagius they were removed from Constantinople to Rome, and lodged in the sepulchre of St. Laurence the Martyr *in agro Verano*, where they are honoured with great piety and devotion. But I find not any author near those times mentioning their translation into any of these western parts, except the little parcel which Orosius[g] brought from Jerusalem, (whither he had been sent by St. Augustine to know St. Hierom's sense in the question about the original of the soul,) which he received from Avitus, who had procured it of Lucian, and brought it along with him into the West, that is, into Africa, for whether it went any further I find not.

XXVII. As for the miracles reported to have been done by the remains of this martyr, [h] Gregory bishop of Tours, and the writers of the following ages, have furnished the world with abundant instances, which I insist not upon, superstition having been the peculiar genius and humour of those middle ages of the church, and the Christian world miserably overrun with an excessive and immoderate veneration of the relics of departed saints. However I can venture the reader's displeasure for relating one, and the rather because it is so solemnly averred by Baronius[i] himself. St. Gaudiosus, an African bishop, flying from the Vandalic persecution, brought with him a glass vial of St. Stephen's blood to Naples in Italy, where it was famous especially for one miraculous effect—that being set upon the altar, at the time of mass it was annually wont, upon the third of August, (the day whereon St. Stephen's body was first discovered,) to melt and bubble, as if it were but newly shed. But the miracle of the miracle lay in this, that when pope Gregory

[e] Marcell. Chron. Indict. vii. p. 24. Theodor. Lect. l. ii. [f] Ad 7 Maii, p. 203.
[g] Vid. Avit. Ep. Præf. Ep. Lucian. Gennad. de script. Eccl. in Oros. cxxxix. Marcell. Chron. p. 17.
[h] De glor. Martyr. l. i. c. 33. [i] Annot. in Martyr. Rom. ad Aug. III. p. 340.

the XIIIth reformed the Roman calendar, and made no less than ten days difference from the former, the blood in the vial ceased to bubble upon the third of August, according to the old computation, and bubbled upon that that fell according to the new reformation. A great justification, I confess, (as Baronius well observes,) of the divine authority of the Gregorian calendar and the pope's constitutions: but yet it was ill done to set the calendars at variance, when both had been equally justified by the miracle. But how easy it was to abuse the world with such tricks, especially in these later ages, wherein the artifice of the priests was arrived to a kind of perfection in these affairs, is no difficult matter to imagine.

XXVIII. Let us then look to the more early ages, when covetousness and secular interests had not so generally put men upon arts of craft and subtlety; and we are told both by Lucian and Photius,[k] that at the first discovery of the martyr's body many strange miraculous cures were effected, seventy-three healed only by smelling the odour and fragrance of the body; in some demons were cast out, others cured of issues of blood, tumours, agues, fevers, and infinite other distempers that were upon them. But that which most sways with me, is what St. Augustine[l] reports of these matters; who seems to have been inquisitive about matters of fact, as the argument he managed did require. For being to demonstrate against the Gentiles that miracles were not altogether ceased in the Christian church, among several others he produces many instances of cures miraculously done at the remains of St. Stephen, brought thither (as before we noted) by Orosius from Jerusalem; all done thereabouts, and some of them in the place where himself lived, and of which (as he tells us) they made books, which were solemnly published, and read to the people; whereof (at the time of his writing) there were no less than seventy written of the cures done at Hippo, (the place where he lived,) though it was not full two years since the memorial of St. Stephen's martyrdom had begun to be celebrated in that place, besides many whereof no account had been given in writing. To set down all were to tire the reader's patience beyond all recovery; a few only for a specimen shall suffice. At the *Aquæ Tibilitanæ Projectus*, the

[k] Lucian. Ep. de invent. S. Steph. in ap. Aug. opp. vol. vii. et Photius cod. CLXXI.
[l] De Civ. Dei. l. xxii. c. 8.

bishop bringing the remains of the martyr, in a vast multitude of people, a blind woman desiring to be brought to the bishop, and some flowers which she brought being laid upon them, and after applied to her eyes, to the wonder of all she instantly received her sight. Lucillus bishop of Synica near Hippo, carrying the same remains, accompanied with all the people, was suddenly freed from a desperate disease, under which he had a long time laboured, and for which he even then expected the surgeon's knife. Eucharius, a Spanish presbyter, then dwelling at Calama, (whereof Possidius who wrote St. Augustine's Life was bishop,) was by the same means cured of the stone, which he had a long time been afflicted with, and afterwards recovered of another distemper, when he had been given over for dead. Martialis, an ancient gentleman in that place, of great note and rank, but a pagan, and highly prejudiced against the Christian faith, had been often in vain solicited by his daughter and her husband (both Christians) to turn Christian, especially in his sickness, but still resented the motion with indignation. His son-in-law went to the place dedicated to St. Stephen's martyrdom, and there with prayers and tears passionately begged of God his conversion. Departing, he took some flowers thence with him, which at night he put under his father's head; who slept well, and in the morning called for the bishop, in whose absence (for he was at that time with St. Augustine at Hippo) the presbyters were sent for; at whose coming he acknowledged himself a Christian, and, to the joy and admiration of all, was immediately baptized. As long as he lived he often had these words in his mouth, and they were the last words that he spake, (for he died not long after,) "O Christ, receive my spirit," though utterly ignorant that it was the protomartyr's dying speech.

XXIX. Many passages of like nature he relates done at his own see at Hippo, and this among the rest. Ten children of eminency at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, (all the children of one man,) had for some notorious misdemeanor, after their father's death, been cursed by their mother, whereupon they were all seized with a continual trembling and shaking in all parts of their body. Two of these, Paulus and Palladia, came over into Africa, and dwelt at Hippo, notoriously known to the whole city. They arrived fifteen days before Easter, where they frequented the church, especially the place dedicated to the mar-

tyrdom of St. Stephen, every day praying that God would forgive them, and restore them to their health. Upon Easter-day, the young man praying as he was wont at the accustomed place, suddenly dropped down, and lay like one asleep, but without any trembling, and awaking found himself perfectly restored to health, who was thereupon with the joyful acclamations of the people brought to St. Augustine, who kindly received him, and after the public devotions were over, treated him at dinner, where he had the whole account of the misery that befell him. The day after, when the narrative of his cure was to be recited to the people, his sister also was healed in the same manner and at the same place, the particular circumstances of both which St. Augustine relates more at large.

XXX. What the judicious and unprejudiced reader will think of these and more the like instances there reported by this good father, I know not, or whether he will not think it reasonable to believe,[m] that God might suffer these strange and miraculous cures to be wrought in a place where multitudes yet persisted in their gentilism and infidelity, and who made this one great objection against the Christian faith, that whatever miracles might be heretofore pretended for the confirmation of Christian religion, yet that now they were ceased, when yet they were still necessary to induce the world to the belief of Christianity. Certain it is, that nothing was done herein, but what did very well consist with the wisdom and the goodness of God, who, as he is never wont to be prodigal in multiplying the effects of his omnipotent power beyond a just necessity, so is never wanting to afford all necessary evidences and methods of conviction. That therefore the unbelieving world (who made this the great refuge of their infidelity) might see that his arm was not grown effete and weak, that he had not left the Christian religion wholly destitute of immediate and miraculous attestations, he was pleased to exert these extraordinary powers, that he might baffle their unbelief, and silence their objections against the divinity of the Christian faith. And for this reason God never totally withdrew the power of working miracles from the church, till the world was in a manner wholly subdued to the faith of Christ. And then he left it to be conducted by more human and regular ways, and to preserve its authority over the

[m] Vid. Aug. loc. supra citato.

minds of men, by those standing and innate characters of divinity which he has impressed upon it. It is true that the church of Rome still pretends to this power, which it endeavours to justify by appealing to these and such like instances. But in vain, and to no purpose; the pretended miracles of that church being generally trifling and ridiculous, far beneath that gravity and seriousness that should work upon a wise and considering mind, the manner of their operation obscure and ambiguous, their numbers excessive and immoderate, the occasions of them light and frivolous, and, after all, the things themselves for the most part false, and the reports very often so monstrous and extravagant, as would choke any sober and rational belief, so that a man must himself become the greatest miracle that believes them. I shall observe no more, than that in all these cases related by St. Augustine we never find that they invocated or prayed to the martyr, nor begged to be healed by his merits or intercession, but immediately directed their addresses to God himself.

THE LIFE OF SAINT PHILIP

THE DEACON AND EVANGELIST.

His birth-place. The confounding him with St. Philip the Apostle. His election to the office of a deacon. The dispersion of the church at Jerusalem. Philip's preaching at Samaria. Inveterate prejudices between the Samaritans and the Jews. The great success of St. Philip's ministry. The impostures of Simon Magus, and his embracing Christianity. The Christians at Samaria confirmed by Peter and John. Philip sent to Gaza. His meeting with the Ethiopian eunuch. What Ethiopia here meant. Candace, who. The custom of retaining eunuchs in the courts of the eastern princes. This eunuch, who. His office. His religion, and great piety. His conversion and baptism by St. Philip. The place where he was baptized. The eunuch's return, and propagating Christianity in his own country. Philip's journey to Cæsarea, and fixing his abode there. His four daughters virgin-prophetesses. His death.

I. St. Philip was born (as Isidore[a] the Peleusiot plainly intimates) at Cæsarea, a famous port-town between Joppa and Ptolemais, in the province of Samaria; but whether he had any other warrant for it than his own conjecture, I know not, there being some circumstances however that make it probable. He has been by some both formerly and of later times, for want of a due regard to things and persons, carelessly confounded with St. Philip the apostle: a mistake of very ancient date, and which seems to have been embraced by some of the most early writers of the church. But whoever considers that the one was an apostle, and one of the twelve, the other a deacon only, and one of the seven, chosen out of the people, and set apart by the apostles, that they themselves might attend the more immediate ministeries of their office; that the one was dispersed up and down the country, while the other remained with the apostolical college at Jerusalem; that the one, though commissionated to preach and to baptize, could not impart the Holy Ghost, (the peculiar prerogative of the apostolical office,) will see just reason to force him to acknowledge a vast difference between them.

[a] Epist. l. i. ep. 449.

Our St. Philip was one of the seventy disciples, and St. Stephen's next colleague in the deacon's office, erected for the conveniency of the poor, and assisting the apostles in some inferior services and ministrations: which shews him to have been a person of great esteem and reputation in the church, endowed with miraculous powers, "full of wisdom, and of the Holy Ghost;[b] which were the qualifications required by the apostles in those who were to be constituted to this place. In the discharge of this ministry he continued at Jerusalem for some months after his election, till the church being scattered up and down, he was forced to quit his station: as what wonder if the stewards be dismissed, when the household is broken up?

II. The protomartyr had been lately sacrificed to the rage and fury of his enemies: but the bloody cloud did not so blow over, but increased into a blacker tempest. Cruelty and revenge never say it is enough, like the temper of the Devil, whose malice is insatiable and eternal. Stephen's death would not suffice, the whole church is now shot at, and they resolve (if possible) to extirpate the religion itself. The great engineer in this persecution was Saul, whose active and fiery genius, and passionate concern for the traditions of the fathers, made him pursue the design with the spirit of a zealot and the rage of a madman. Having furnished himself with a commission from the Sanhedrim, he quickly put it in execution, broke open houses, seized whoever he met with, that looked but like a disciple of the crucified Jesus, and without any regard to sex or age, beat, and haled them unto prison, plucking the husband from the bosom of his wife, and the mother from the embraces of her children, blaspheming God, prosecuting and being injurious unto men, breathing out nothing but slaughter and threatenings wherever he came: whence Eusebius[c] calls it the first and most grievous persecution of the church. The church by this means was forced to retire, the apostles only remaining privately at Jerusalem, that they might the better superintend and steer the affairs of the church, while the rest were dispersed up and down the neighbouring countries, publishing the glad tidings of the gospel, and declaring the nature and design of it in all places where they came; so that what their enemies intended as the way to ruin them, by breaking the knot of their fellowship and society,

[b] Acts vi. 3. [c] Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 1.

proved an effectual means to enlarge the bounds of Christianity. Thus excellent perfumes, while kept close in a box, few are the better for them, whereas being once, whether casually or maliciously, spilt upon the ground, the fragrant scent presently fills all corners of the house.

III. Among them that were thus dispersed was our evangelist, so styled not from his writing but preaching of the gospel. He directed his journey towards the province of Samaria, "and came into a city of Samaria,"[d] (as those words may be read,) probably Gitton, the birth-place of Simon Magus; though it is safest to understand it of Samaria itself. This was the metropolis of the province, had been for some ages the royal seat of the kings of Israel, but being utterly destroyed by Hyrcanus, had been lately re-edified by Herod the Great, and in honour of Augustus (Σέβαστος) by him styled Sebasté. The Samaritans were a mixture of Jews and Gentiles, made up of the remains that were left of the ten tribes which were carried away captive, and those heathen colonies which the king of Babylon brought into their room; and their religion accordingly was nothing but Judaism blended with Pagan rites, though so highly prized and valued by them, that they made no scruple to dispute place, and to vie with the worship of the temple at Jerusalem. Upon this account there had been an ancient and inveterate pique and quarrel between the Jews and them, so as utterly to refuse all mutual intercourse with each other. Hence the Samaritan woman wondered, that our Lord, "being a Jew, should ask drink of her, who was a woman of Samaria; for the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans."[e] They despised them at the rate of heathens, devoted them under the most solemn execrations, allowed them not to become proselytes, nor to have any portion in the resurrection of the just, suffered not an Israelite to eat with them, no, nor to say Amen to their blessing; nor did they think they could fasten upon our Saviour a greater character of reproach, than to say that he was "a Samaritan, and had a devil." But God regards not the prejudices of men, nor always withholds his kindness from them, whom we are ready to banish the lines of love and friendship. It is true the apostles at their first mission were charged "not to go in the way of the Gentiles, nor to enter into any city of the Samaritans."[f] But when Christ

[d] Acts viii. 5. [e] John iv. 9. [f] Matt x. 5.

by his death had "broken down the partition wall, and abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances,"[g] then the gospel came "and preached peace as well to them that were afar off, as to them that were nigh." Philip therefore freely preached the gospel to these Samaritans, so odious, so distasteful to the Jews: to which he effectually prepared his way by many great and uncontrollable miracles, which being arguments fitted to the capacities, and accommodate to the senses of the meanest, do easiliest convey the truth into the minds of men. And the success here was accordingly, the people generally embracing the Christian doctrine, while they beheld him curing all manner of diseases, and powerfully dispossessing demons, who with great horror and regret were forced to quit their residence, to the equal joy and wonder of that place.

IV. In this city was one Simon, born at a town not far off, who by sorcery and magic arts had strangely insinuated himself into the reverence and veneration of the people. A man crafty and ambitious, daring and insolent, whose diabolical sophistries and devices had for a long time so amazed the eyes of the vulgar, that they really thought him (and for such no doubt he gave out himself) to be the supreme divinity, probably magnifying himself as that divine power that was to visit the Jews as the Messiah, or the Son of God; among the Samaritans, giving out himself to be the Father, (as Irenæus assures us,[h]) τὸν πρῶτον Θεὸν, as his countryman Justin Martyr tells us,[i] the people worshipped him, as the first and chiefest deity; as afterwards among the Gentiles he styled himself the Holy Ghost. And what wonder if by this train of artifices the people were tempted and seduced to admire and adore him. And in this case things stood at St. Philip's arrival, whose greater and more unquestionable miracles quickly turned the scale. Imposture cannot bear the too near approach of truth, but flies before it, as darkness vanishes at the presence of the sun. The people, sensible of their error, universally flocked to St. Philip's sermons, and convinced by the efficacy of his doctrine, and the power of his miracles, gave up themselves his converts, and were by baptism initiated into the Christian faith: yea, the magician himself,

[g] Eph. ii. 14, 15, &c.

[h] Adv. Hæres. l. i. c. 23. (al. 20.)

[i] Apol. i. c. 26. vide Tertull. de Præscr. Hæret. c. 46.

astonished at those mighty things which he saw done by Philip, professed himself his proselyte and disciple, and was baptized by him; being either really persuaded by the convictive evidence of truth, or else for some sinister designs craftily dissembling his belief and profession of Christianity: a piece of artifice which Eusebius[k] tells us, his disciples and followers still observed in his time, who in imitation of their father, like a pest or a leprosy, were wont to creep in among the Christian societies, that so they might with the more advantage poison and infect the rest, many of whom having been discovered, had with shame been ejected and cast out of the church.

V. The fame of St. Philip's success at Samaria quickly flew to Jerusalem, where the apostles immediately took care to dispatch some of their own number to confirm these new converts in the faith. Peter and John were sent upon this errand, who being come, prayed for them, and laid their hands upon them, ordaining probably some to be governors of the church, and ministers of religion; which was no sooner done, but the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost fell upon them; a plain evidence of the apostolic power. Philip had converted and baptized them, but being only a deacon (as Epiphanius[l] and Chrysostom[m] truly observe) could not confer the Holy Ghost, this being a faculty bestowed only upon the apostles. Simon the Magician observing this, that a power of working miracles was conveyed by the imposition of the apostles' hands, hoped by obtaining it to recover his credit and reputation with the people; to which end he sought by such methods as were most apt to prevail upon himself, to corrupt the apostles by a sum of money, to confer this power upon him. Peter resented the motion with that sharpness and severity that became him; told the wretch of the iniquity of his offer, and the evil state and condition he was in; advised him by repentance to make his peace with heaven, that, if possible, he might prevent the miserable fate that otherwise did attend him. But what passed between Peter and this magician, both here and in their memorable encounter at Rome, (so much spoken of by the ancients,) we have related more at large in another place.[n]

VI. Whether St. Philip returned with the apostles to Jeru-

[k] Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 1.
[l] Epiph. Hæres. xxi.
[m] Chrysost. Hom. xviii. in Act. Apostt. s. 3. vol. ix. p. 146.
[n] Antiq. App. Life of St. Peter, sect. 8. n. 1. sect. 9. n. 4.

salem, or (as Chrysostom[o] thinks) stayed at Samaria, and the parts thereabouts, we have no intimations left upon record. But wherever he was, an angel was sent to him with a message from God, to go and instruct a stranger in the faith. The angel, one would have thought, had been most likely himself to have managed this business with success. But the wise God keeps method and order, and will not suffer an angel to take that work which he has put into the hands of his ministers.[p] The sum of his commission was to go towards the "south, unto the way that goes down from Jerusalem to Gaza, which is desert:"[q] a circumstance which, whether it relate to the way or the city, is not easy to decide, it being probably true of both. Gaza was a city anciently famous for the strange efforts of Samson's strength, for his captivity, his death, and the burial of himself and his enemies in the same ruin. It was afterwards sacked and laid waste by Alexander the Great, and, as Strabo notes,[r] remained waste and desert in his time; the prophetical curse being truly accomplished in it, "Gaza shall be forsaken;"[s] a fate which the prophet Jeremy had foretold to be as certain, as if he had seen it already done, "baldness is come upon Gaza."[t] So certainly do the divine threatenings arrest and take hold of a proud and impenitent people; so easily do they set open the gates for ruin to enter into the strongest and best fortified cities, where sin has once undermined, and stripped them naked of the divine protection.

VII. No sooner had St. Philip received his orders, though he knew not as yet the intent of his journey, but he addressed himself to it, "he arose and went:"[u] he did not reason with himself whether he might not be mistaken, and that be a false and deluding vision that sent him upon such an unaccountable errand, and into a desert and a wilderness, where he was more likely to meet with trees and rocks and wild beasts, than men to preach to; but went however, well knowing God never sends any upon a vain or a foolish errand. An excellent instance of obedience; as it is also recorded to Abraham's eternal honour and commendation, that when God sent his warrant, "he obeyed and went out, not knowing whither he went."[x] As he was on his

[o] Hom. xix. in Act. Apostt. s. 1. vol. ix. p. 152. [p] Vide Chrysost. ibid. p. 153.
[q] Acts viii. 26. [r] Geograph. l. xvi. p. 1102. (al. 759.) [s] Zeph. ii. 4.
[t] Jer. xlvii. 5. [u] Acts viii. 27. [x] Heb. xi. 8.

journey, he espied coming towards him "a man of Ethiopia, an eunuch of great authority under Candace, queen of the Ethiopians; who had the charge of all her treasure, and had come to Jerusalem to worship;"[y] though in what part of the world the country here spoken of was situate (the word being variously used in scripture) has been some dispute. Dorotheus[z] and Sophronius[a] of old, and some later writers, place it in Arabia the Happy, not far from the Persian Gulf: but it is most generally conceived to be meant of the African Ethiopia, lying under or near the torrid zone, the people whereof are described by Homer, to be ἔσχατοι ἀνδρων, the remotest part of mankind; and accordingly St. Hierom[b] says of this eunuch, that he came from Ethiopia, that is, *ab extremis mundi finibus*, from the farthest corners of the world. The country is sometimes styled Cush, probably from a mixture of the Arabians, who inhabiting on the other side of the Red Sea, might send over colonies hither, who settling in these parts, communicated the names of Cush and Sabæa to them. The manners of the people were very rude and barbarous, and the people themselves, especially to the Jews, contemptible even to a proverb; "Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel, saith the Lord?"[c] nay, the very meeting an Ethiopian was accounted an ill omen, and an unlucky prognostication. But no country is a bar to heaven; "the grace of God that brings salvation"[d] plucks up the enclosures, and "appears to all;" so that "in every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him."[e]

VIII. But we cannot reasonably suppose that it should be meant of Ethiopia at large, especially as parallel at this day with the Abyssine empire, but rather of that part of the country whose metropolis was called Meroe, and Saba, (as it is called both by Josephus,[f] and the Abyssines themselves at this day,) situate in a large island, encompassed by the Nile, and the rivers of Astapus and Astoborra, as Josephus informs us: for about these parts it was (as Pliny tells us[g]) that queens had a long time governed under the title of Candace; a custom (as we find

[y] Acts viii. 27. [z] Doroth. Synops. vol. ii. bibl. patrum. p. 186.
[a] Sophr. ap. Hier. de Scriptt. Eccl. in Crescent.
[b] Hier. ad Paulinum, Ep. L. vol. iv. part ii. p. 570. [c] Amos ix. 7. [d] Tit. ii. 11.
[e] Acts x. 35. [f] Antiq. Jud. l. ii. c. 5. [g] Hist. Nat. l. vi. c. 29.

in Strabo) first commencing in the time of Augustus, when a queen of that name having for her incomparable virtues been dear to the people, her successors, in honour of her, took the title of Candace, in the same sense that Ptolemy was the common name of the kings of Egypt, Artaxerxes of the kings of Persia, and Cæsar of the Roman emperors. Indeed Oecumenius[h] was of opinion that Candace was only the common name of the queen-mothers of Ethiopia, that nation not giving the name of fathers to their kings, as acknowledging the sun only for their common father, and their princes the sons of that common parent. But in this I think he stands alone, and contradicts the general vote and suffrage of the ancients, which affirms this nation to have been subject to women; sure I am Eusebius[i] expressly says, it was the custom of this country to be governed by queens even in his time. The name of the present queen (they say) was Lacasa, daughter of king Baazena, and that she outlived the death of our Saviour four years.

IX. Among the great officers of her court she had one (if not more) eunuch, probably to avoid suspicion, it being the fashion of those Eastern countries (as it still is at this day) to employ eunuchs in places of great trust and honour, and especially of near access to, and attendance upon queens. For however among us the very name sounds vile and contemptible, yet in those countries it is otherwise: among the Barbarians, (says Herodotus,[k]) that is, the Eastern people, eunuchs are persons of the greatest esteem and value.[l] Our eunuch's name (as we find it in the Confession made by Zaga Zabo,[m] ambassador from the Ethiopian emperor) was Indich; δυνάστης, a potent courtier, an officer of state of prime note and quality, being no less than high-treasurer to the queen; nor do we find that Philip, either at his conversion or baptism, found fault with him for his place or greatness. Certainly magistracy is no ways inconsistent with Christianity; the church and the state may well agree, and Moses and Aaron go hand in hand. Peter baptized Cornelius, and St. Paul Sergius the proconsul of Cyprus into the Christian faith, and yet neither of them found any more fault with them for their places of authority and power than Philip did here with the lord treasurer of the Ethiopian queen. For his re-

[h] Oecumen. Comm. in Act. viii. c. xii. p. 82. [i] H. Eccl. l. ii. c. 1. [k] Herod. l. viii. c. 105.
[l] Tacit. Ann. l. vi. c. 31. [m] Extat ad Bzov. Annal. Eccl. ad Ann. 1524. n. xxxii.

ligion, he was, if not a "proselyte of justice" (as some think) circumcised, and under an obligation to observe the rites and precepts of the Law of Moses, at least a "proselyte of the gate," (in which respect it is that one of the ancients calls him a Jew,) [n]entered already into the knowledge of the true God, and was now come to Jerusalem (probably at the solemnity of the Passover, or the feast of Pentecost) to give public and solemn evidences of his devotion. Though an Ethiopian, and many thousand miles distant from it, though a great statesman, and necessarily swallowed up in a crowd of business, yet "he came to Jerusalem for to worship."[o] No way so long, so rugged and difficult, no charge or interest so dear and great, as to hinder a good man from minding the concernments of religion. No slender and trifling pretences, no little and ordinary occasions, should excuse our attendance upon places of public worship; behold here a man that thought not much to take a journey of above four thousand miles, that he might appear before God in the solemn place of divine adoration, the place which God had chosen above all other parts of the world, "to place his name there."

X. Having performed his homage and worship at the temple, he was now upon his return for his own country; nor had he left his religion at church behind him, or thought it enough that he had been there; but improved himself while travelling by the way: even while he sat in his chariot (as Chrysostom[p] observes) he read the scriptures: a good man is not willing to lose even common minutes, but to redeem what time is possible for holy uses; whether sitting, or walking, or journeying, our thoughts should be at work, and our affections travelling towards heaven. While the eunuch was thus employed, a messenger is sent to him from God: the best way to meet with divine communications, is to be conversant in our duty. By a voice from heaven, or some immediate inspiration, Philip is commanded to "go near the chariot,"[q] and address himself to him. He did so, and found him reading a section or paragraph of the prophet Isaiah, concerning the death and sufferings of the Messiah, his meek and innocent carriage under the bloody and barbarous violences of his enemies, who dealt with him with all cruelty and injustice.

[n] Pont. Diac. in vit. Cypr. p. 2.

[o] Acts viii. 27.

[p] Hom. xix. in Act. Apostt. s. 1. vol. ix. p. 153. et vide Hier. ad Paulinum, Ep. L. vol. iv. part ii. p. 571.

[q] Acts viii. 29.

This the eunuch not well understanding, nor knowing certainly whether the prophet meant it of himself or another, desired St. Philip to explain it; who being courteously taken up into his chariot, shewed him that all this was meant of, and had been accomplished in the holy Jesus; taking occasion thence to discourse to him of his nativity, his actions and miracles, his sufferings and resurrection from the dead, and his ascension into heaven, declaring to him the whole system of the Christian faith. His discourse wanted not its desired effect; the eunuch was fully satisfied in the Messiahship and divine authority of our Saviour, and wanted nothing but the solemn rite of initiation to make him a Christian proselyte. Being come to a place where there was conveniency of water, he desired that he might be baptized; and having professed his faith in the Son of God, and his hearty embracing the Christian religion, "they both went down into the water," where Philip baptized him, and washed this Ethiopian white.

XI. The place where this eunuch was baptized, Beza[r] by a very wide mistake makes to be the river Eleutherus, which ran near the foot of Mount Lebanon in the most northern borders of Palestine, quite at the other end of the country: Brocard[s] places it near Nehel Escol, or the Torrent of the Grape, the place whence the spies fetched the bunch of grapes; on the left side of which valley, about half a league, runs a brook not far from Sicelech, in which this eunuch was baptized. But Eusebius[t] and St. Hierom[u] (followed herein by Ado[x] the martyrologist) more probably place it near Bethsoron, (where we are told[y] it is still to be seen at this day,) a village twenty miles distant from Jerusalem, in the way between it and Hebron, near to which there was a spring bubbling up at the foot of a hill. St. Hierom adds, that it was again swallowed up in the same ground that produced it, and that here it was that Philip baptized the Ethiopian; which was no sooner done, but heaven set an extraordinary seal to his conversion and admission into the Christian faith, especially if it be true what some very ancient manuscripts add to the passage, that being baptized, "the Holy Ghost fell

[r] Annot. in Act. viii. 36.
[s] Descript. Terr. Sanct. c. ix. p. 48.
[t] Euseb. de loc. Hebr. in voc. Βεδσούρ.
[u] Hieron. de loc. Heb. in voc. Bethsur, vol. ii. p. 418.
[x] Ad. Martyr. VIII. Idus Jun.
[y] Cotovic. Itin. l. ii. c. 9.

upon him,"[z] furnishing him with miraculous gifts and powers, and that Philip was immediately snatched away from him.

XII. Though the eunuch had lost his tutor, yet he rejoiced that he had found so great a treasure, the knowledge of Christ, and of the true way to heaven, and he went on his journey with infinite peace and tranquillity of mind, satisfied with the happiness that had befallen him. Being returned into his country, he preached and propagated the Christian faith, and spread abroad the glad tidings of a Saviour: in which respect St. Hierom[a] styles him the apostle of the Ethiopians, and the ancients[b] generally make that prediction of David fulfilled in him, "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God;"[c] and hence the Ethiopians are wont to glory, (as appears by the Confession[d] made by the Abyssine ambassador,) that by means of this eunuch they received baptism almost the first of any Christians in the world. Indeed they have a constant tradition, that for many ages they had the knowledge of the true God of Israel, from the time of the queen of Sheba, (and Seba being the name of this country, as we noted before, makes it probable she might govern here); her name (they tell us) was Maqueda, who having learnt from Solomon the knowledge of the Jewish law, and received the books of their religion, taught them her subjects, and sent her son Meilech to Solomon to be instructed and educated by him; the story whereof may be read in that Confession more at large. I add no more concerning the eunuch than what Dorotheus[e] and others relate, that he is reported to have suffered martyrdom, and to have been honourably buried, and that diseases were cured, and other miracles done at his tomb even in his time. The traditions of the country more particularly tell us,[f] that the eunuch being returned home, first converted his mistress Candace to the Christian faith, and afterwards by her leave propagated it throughout Ethiopia, till meeting with St. Matthew the apostle, by their joint-endeavours they expelled idolatry out of all those parts. Which done, he crossed the Red Sea, and preached the

[z] V. 39. Cod. Alexand. in Bibl. Reg. Angl. aliique plures Codd. MSS.

[a] Com. in Esai. liii. vol. iii. p. 385.

[b] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 1. Cyril. Catech. xvii. s. 12. [c] Ps. lxviii. 31.

[d] Apud Bzov. Annal. Eccl. ad. ann. 1524. n. xxxii. vid. Godign. de rebus Abyssin. l. i. c. 18.

[e] Synops. vol. ii. bibl. patrum, p. 186. Vid. etiam Sophr. ap. Hier. in Cresc.

[f] Ap. Godign. l. i. c. 18.

Christian religion in Arabia, Persia, India, and many other of those Eastern nations, till at length in the island Taprobana, since called Ceylon, he sealed his doctrine with his blood.

XIII. God, who always affords what is sufficient, is not wont to multiply means farther than is necessary. Philip having done the errand upon which he was sent, was immediately caught and carried away, no doubt by the ministry of an angel, and landed at Azotus, anciently Ashdod, a Philistine city in the borders of the tribe of Dan, famous of old for the temple and residence in it of the idol Dagon, and the captivity of the ark kept for some time in this place, and now enlightened with St. Philip's preaching, who went up and down publishing the gospel in all the parts hereabouts till he arrived at Cæsarea. This city was heretofore called *Turris Stratonis*, and afterwards rebuilt and enlarged by Herod the Great, and in honour of Augustus Cæsar, to whom he was greatly obliged, by him called *Cæsarea*; for whose sake also he erected in it a stately palace of marble, called Herod's Judgment Hall, wherein his nephew, ambitious of greater honours and acclamations than became him, had that fatal execution served upon him. It was a place remarkable for many devout and pious men; here dwelt Cornelius, who together with his family being baptized by Peter, was in that respect the first-fruits of the Gentile world: hither came Agabus the prophet, who foretold St. Paul's imprisonment and martyrdom: here St. Paul himself was kept prisoner, and made those brave and generous apologies for himself, first before Felix, as afterwards before Festus and Agrippa. Here also our St. Philip had his house and family, to which probably he now retired, and where he spent the remainder of his life: for here many years after we find St. Paul and his company, coming from Ptolemais in their journey to Jerusalem, "entering into the house of Philip the evangelist, which was one of the seven, and abiding with him; and the same man had four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy."[g] These virgin-prophetesses were endowed with the gift of foretelling future events; for though prophecy in those times implied also a faculty of explaining the more abstruse and difficult parts of the Christian doctrine, and a peculiar ability to demonstrate Christ's Messiahship from the predictions of Moses and the prophets, and to express themselves on a sudden

[g] Acts xxi. 8, 9.

upon any difficult and emergent occasion, yet can we not suppose these virgins to have had this part of the prophetic faculty, or at least that they did not publicly exercise it in the congregation. This therefore unquestionably respected things to come, and was an instance of God's accomplishing an ancient promise, that in the times of the Messiah he would "pour out of his Spirit upon all flesh, on their sons and daughters, servants and handmaidens, and they should prophesy."[h] The names of two of these daughters, the Greek Menæon tells us, were Hermione and Eutychis, who came into Asia after St. John's death, and the first of them died, and was buried at Ephesus.

XIV. How long St. Philip lived after his return to Cæsarea, and whether he made any more excursions for the propagation of the faith, is not certainly known. Dorotheus,[i] I know not upon what ground, will have him to have been bishop of Trazellis, a city in Asia: others,[k] confounding him with St. Philip the apostle, make him resident at Hierapolis in Phrygia, where he suffered martyrdom, and was buried (say they) together with his daughters. Most probable it is that he died a peaceable death at Cæsarea, where his daughters were also buried, as some ancient martyrologies[l] inform us; where his house and the apartments of his virgin-daughters were yet to be seen in St. Hierom's time,[m] visited and admired by the noble and religious Roman lady Paula in her journey to the Holy Land.

[h] Acts ii. 17, 18.
[i] Synops. de Vit. App. vol. ii. bibl. patrum. p. 182.
[k] Polycrat. ap. Euseb. l. iii. c. 31. Procul. ibid.
[l] Martyr. Rom. ad VI. Jun. Martyr. Adon. VIII. Id. Jun.
[m] Hier. Epitaph. Paul. ad Eustoch. vol. iv. p. 673.

THE LIFE OF SAINT BARNABAS

THE APOSTLE.

His surname Joses. The title of Barnabas whence added to him. His country and parents. His education, and conversion to Christianity. His generous charity. St. Paul's address to him after his conversion. His commission to confirm the church of Antioch. His taking St. Paul in to his assistance. Their being sent with contributions to the church at Jerusalem. Their peculiar separation for the ministry of the Gentiles. Imposition of hands the usual rite of ordination. Their travels through several countries. Their success in Cyprus. Barnabas at Lystra taken for Jupiter, and why. Their return to Antioch. Their embassy to Jerusalem about the controversy concerning the legal rites. Barnabas seduced by Peter's dissimulation at Antioch. The dissension between him and St. Paul. Barnabas's journey to Cyprus. His voyage to Rome, and preaching the Christian faith there. His martyrdom by the Jews in Cyprus. His burial. His body, when first discovered. St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel found with it. The great privileges hereupon conferred upon the see of Salamis. A description of his person and temper. The epistle anciently published under his name. The design of it. The practical part of it excellently managed under the two ways of light and darkness.

I. The proper and (if I may so term it) original name of this apostle (for with that title St. Luke, and after him the ancients, constantly honour him) was Joses, by a softer termination familiar with the Greeks for Joseph, and so the king's, and several other manuscript copies, read it. It was the name given him at his circumcision, in honour, no doubt, of Joseph, one of the great patriarchs of their nation, to which, after his embracing Christianity, the apostles added that of Barnabas; "Joses, who by the apostles was surnamed Barnabas,"[a] either implying him a "son of prophecy," eminent for his prophetic gifts and endowments, or denoting him (what was a peculiar part of the prophets' office) "a son of consolation,"[b] for his admirable dexterity in

[a] Acts iv. 36.

[b] Chrysost. Homil. xi. in Act. Apostt. s. 1. vol. ix. p. 91.

erecting troubled minds, and leading them on by the most mild and gentle methods of persuasion: though I rather conceive him so styled for his generous charity in "refreshing the bowels of the saints," [c] especially since the name seems to have been imposed upon him upon that occasion.[d] He was born in Cyprus, a noted island in the Mediterranean sea, lying between Cilicia, Syria, and Egypt; a large and fertile country, the theatre anciently of no less than nine several kingdoms, so fruitful and richly furnished with all things that can minister either to the necessity or pleasure of man's life, that it was of old called Macaria, or "the Happy;" and the historian reports,[e] that Portius Cato, having conquered this island, brought hence greater treasures into the exchequer at Rome, than had been done in any other triumph. But in nothing was it more happy, or upon any account more memorable in the records of the church, than that it was the birth-place of our apostle; whose ancestors in the troublesome times of Antiochus Epiphanes, or in the conquest of Judæa by Pompey and the Roman army, had fled over hither, (as a place best secured from violence and invasion,) and settled here.

II. He was descended of the tribe of Levi, and the line of the priesthood, which rendered his conversion to Christianity the more remarkable, all interests concurring to leaven him with mighty prejudices against the Christian faith. But the grace of God delights many times to exert itself against the strongest opposition, and loves to conquer, where there is least probability to overcome. His parents were rich and pious, and finding him a beautiful and hopeful youth, (says my author,[f] deriving his intelligence concerning him, as he tells us, from Clemens of Alexandria, and other ancient writers,) they sent or brought him to Jerusalem, to be trained up in the knowledge of the law, and to that end committed him to the tutorage of Gamaliel, the great doctor of the law, and most famous master at that time in Israel, at whose foot he was brought up together with St. Paul; which, if so, might lay an early foundation of that intimate familiarity that was afterwards between them. Here he improved in learning and piety, frequenting the temple, and de-

[c] Philem. 7. [d] Vid. Notker. Martyr. ad III. Id. Jun. Canis. Antiq. Lect. vol. vi.
[e] L. Flor. l. iii. c. 9.
[f] Alexand. Monach. Encom. S. Barnab. inter vitas S. Metaph. extat. ap Sur. ad Jun. XI. vid. ib. n. 4, 5, 6.

voutly exercising himself in fasting and prayer. We are further told,[g] that being a frequent spectator of our Saviour's miracles, and among the rest of his curing the paralytic at the pool of Bethesda, he was soon convinced of his divinity, and persuaded to deliver up himself to his discipline and institutions: and as the nature of true goodness is ever communicative, he presently went and acquainted his sister Mary with the notice of the Messiah, who hastened to come to him, and importuned him to come home to her house, where our Lord afterwards (as the church continued to do after his decease) was wont to assemble with his disciples; and that her son Mark was that "young man,"[h] who bore the pitcher of water, whom our Lord commanded the two disciples to follow home, and there prepare for the celebration of the Passover.

III. But however that was, he doubtless continued with our Lord to the last, and after his ascension stood fair to be chosen one of the twelve, if it be true, (what is generally taken for granted, though I think without any reason, Chrysostom[i] I am sure enters his dissent,) that he is the same with Joseph called Barsabas, who was put candidate with Matthias for the apostolate in the room of Judas. However, that he was one of the seventy, Clemens Alexandrinus expressly affirms,[k] as others do after him. And when the necessities of the Church daily increasing, required more than ordinary supplies, he, according to the free and noble spirit of those times, having lands of good value, "sold them, and laid the money at the apostles' feet."[l] If it be enquired how a Levite came by lands and possessions, when the Mosaic law allowed them no particular portions, but what were made by public provision; it needs no other answer than to suppose that this estate was his patrimonial inheritance in Cyprus, where the Jewish constitutions did not take place: and surely an estate it was of very considerable value, and the parting with it a greater charity than ordinary, otherwise the sacred historian would not have made such a particular remark concerning it.

[g] Ibid. n. 7.

[h] Mark xiv. 13.

[i] Hom. xi. in Act. Apostt. s. 1. vol. ix. p. 90.

[k] Strom. lib. ii. c. 20. p. 489. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 1. ex Clem. Hypot. l. vii. Chron. Alex. p. 530.

[l] Acts iv. 37.

IV. The church being dispersed up and down after St. Stephen's martyrdom, we have no certain account what became of him; in all probability he stayed with the apostles at Jerusalem, where we find him not long after St. Paul's conversion. For that fierce and active zealot being miraculously taken off in the height of his rage and fury, and putting on now the innocent and inoffensive temper of a lamb, came after some little time to Jerusalem, and addressed himself to the church. But they, not satisfied in the reality of his change, and fearing it might be nothing but a subtle artifice to betray them, universally shunned his company; and what wonder if the harmless sheep fled at the sight of the wolf that had made such havoc of the flock: till Barnabas, presuming probably upon his former acquaintance, entered into a more familiar converse with him, introduced him to the apostles, and declared to them the manner of his conversion, and what signal evidences he had given of it at Damascus, in his bold and resolute disputations with the Jews.

V. "There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth:"[m] the dispersion of the church by Saul's persecution proved the means of a more plentiful harvest, the Christian religion being hereby on all hands conveyed both to Jews and Gentiles. Among the rest some Cyprian and Cyrenean converts went to Antioch,[n] where they preached the Gospel with mighty success; great numbers both of Jews and proselytes (wherewith that city did abound) heartily embracing the Christian faith. The news whereof coming to the apostles at Jerusalem, they sent down Barnabas to take an account of it, and to settle this new plantation. Being come, he rejoiced to see that Christianity had made so fair a progress in that great city, earnestly pressing them cordially and constantly to persevere in that excellent religion which they had entertained; himself, like a pious and a good man, undergoing any labours and difficulties; which God was pleased to crown with answerable success, the addition of multitudes of new converts to the faith. But the work was too great to be managed by a single hand: to furnish himself, therefore, with suitable assistance, he went to Tarsus, to enquire for St. Paul, lately come thither. Him he brings back with him to Antioch, where both of them continued industriously ministering to the increase and establishment of the church for a whole year together; and

[m] Prov. xi. 24. [n] Acts xi. 20.

then and there it was that the disciples of the holy Jesus had the honourable name of Christians[o] first solemnly fixed upon them.

VI. It happened about this time, or not long after, that a severe famine (foretold by Agabus, a Christian prophet, that came down to Antioch) pressed upon the provinces of the Roman empire, and especially Judæa, whereby the Christians, whose estates were exhausted by their continual contributions for the maintenance of the poor, were reduced to great extremities. The church of Antioch compassionating their miserable case, agreed upon a liberal and charitable supply for their relief, which they entrusted with Barnabas and Paul, whom they sent along with it to the governors of the churches, that they might dispose it as necessity did require. This charitable embassy the Greek rituals no doubt respect, when in the office at the promotion of the *magnus œconomus*,[p] or high steward of the church, (whose place it was to manage and dispose the church's revenues,) they make particular mention of "the holy and most famous Barnabas the apostle, and generous martyr." Having discharged their trust, they returned back from Jerusalem to Antioch, bringing along with them "John, surnamed Mark,"[q] the son of Mary, sister to Barnabas, whose house was the sanctuary, where the church found both shelter for their persons, and conveniency for the solemnities of their worship.

VII. The church of Antioch being now sufficiently provided of spiritual guides, our two apostles might be the better spared for the conversion of the Gentile world. As they were therefore engaged in the duties of fasting and prayer, and other public exercises of their religion, the Spirit of God, by some prophetic *afflatus* or revelation made to some of the prophets there present, commanded that Barnabas and Saul should be set apart to that peculiar ministry, to which God had designed them. Accordingly, having fasted and prayed, hands were solemnly laid upon them, to denote their particular designation to that service. Imposition of hands had been a ceremony of ancient date. Even among the Gentiles they were wont to design persons to public functions and offices by lifting up, or stretching out the hand, whereby they gave their votes and suffrages for those employments. But herein though they did χειροτονεῖν, "stretch

[o] Acts xi. 26. [p] Ritual. Græcor. in promot. Œconom. [q] Acts xii. 25.

forth," they did not "lay on their hands;" which was the proper ceremony in use, and of far greater standing in the Jewish church. When Moses made choice of the seventy elders to be his coadjutors in the government, it was (say the Jews) by laying his hands upon them: and when he constituted Joshua to be his successor, "he laid his hands on him, and gave him the charge before all the congregation."[r] This custom they constantly kept in appointing both civil and ecclesiastical officers, and that not only while their temple and polity stood, but long after the fall of their church and state. For so Benjamin the Jew tells us,[s] that in his time all the Israelites of the East, when they wanted a rabbin or teacher in their synagogues, were wont to bring him to the ראש הגולה, as they call him the αἰχμαλωτάρχης, or "head of the captivity," residing at Babylon, (at that time R. Daniel the son of Hasdai,) that he might receive הסמיכה ורשות power by "imposition of hands" to become preacher to them. From the Jews it was together with some other rites transferred into the Christian church, in ordaining guides and ministers of religion, and has been so used through all ages and periods to this day. Though the χειροθεσία and the χειροτονία are not of equal extent in the writings and practice of the church; the one implying the bare rite of laying on of hands, while the other denotes ordination itself, and the entire solemnity of the action. Whence the apostolical constitutor,[t] speaking of the presbyter's interest in this affair, says χειροθετεῖ οὐ χειροτονεῖ, he lays on his hands, but he does not ordain; meaning it of the custom then, and ever since, of presbyters laying on their hands together with the bishop in that solemn action.

VIII. Barnabas and Paul, having thus received a divine commission for the apostleship of the Gentiles, and taking Mark along with them as their minister and attendant, immediately entered upon the province. And first they betook themselves to Seleucia, a neighbour city, seated upon the influx of the river Orontes into the Mediterranean sea: hence they set sail for Cyprus, Barnabas's native country, and arrived at Salamis, a city heretofore of great account, the ruins whereof are two miles distant from the present Famagusta, where they undauntedly preached in the Jewish synagogues. From Salamis

[r] Numb. xxvii. 22, 23. [s] Itinerar. p. 73. [t] Lib. viii. c. 28.

they travelled up the island to Paphos, a city remarkable of old for the worship of Venus, *Diva potens Cypri*,[u] the tutelar goddess of the island, who was here worshipped with the most wanton and immodest rites, and had a famous temple dedicated to her for that purpose, concerning which the inhabitants have a tradition[x] that at St. Barnabas's prayers it fell flat to the ground; and the ruins of an ancient church are still shewed to travellers, and under it an arch, where Paul and Barnabas were shut up in prison. At this place was the court or residence of the prætor, or president of the island, (not properly ἀνθύπατος, the proconsul, for Cyprus was not a proconsular but a prætorian province,) who being altogether guided by the counsels and sorceries of Bar-Jesus, an eminent magician, stood off from the proposals of Christianity, till the magician being struck by St. Paul with immediate blindness for his malicious opposition of the gospel, this quickly determined the governor's belief, and brought him over a convert to that religion, which as it made the best offers, so he could not but see had the strongest evidences to attend it.

IX. Leaving Cyprus, they sailed over to Perga in Pamphilia,[y] famous for a temple of Diana; here Mark, weary it seems of this itinerant course of life, and the unavoidable dangers that attended it, took his leave and returned to Jerusalem; which laid the foundation of an unhappy difference, that broke out between these two apostles afterwards. The next place they came to was Antioch in Pisidia, where in the Jewish synagogue St. Paul by an elegant oration converted great numbers both of Jews and proselytes; but a persecution being raised by others, they were forced to desert the place. Thence they passed to Iconium, a noted city of Lycaonia, where in the synagogues they preached a long time with good success, till a conspiracy being made against them, they withdrew to Lystra, the inhabitants whereof, upon a miraculous cure done by St. Paul, treated them as gods come down from heaven in human shape; St. Paul, as being principal speaker, they termed Mercury, the interpreter of the gods; Barnabas they looked upon as Jupiter, their sovereign deity, either because of his age, or (as Chrysostom thinks,[z]) because he was ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως ἀξιοπρεπῆς, for the gravity

[u] Horat. carm. i. od. iii. 1.
[x] Cotovic. Itin. l. i. c. 16.
[y] Acts xiii. 13.
[z] Hom. xxx. in Act. Apostt. s. 3. vol. ix. p. 237.

and comeliness of his person, being (as antiquity represents him) a very goodly man, and of a venerable aspect, wherein he had infinitely the advantage of St. Paul, who was of a very mean and contemptible presence. But the malice of the Jews pursued them hither, and prevailed with the people to stone St. Paul, who presently recovering, he and Barnabas went to Derbe, where, when they had converted many to the faith, they returned back to Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, and so through Pisidia to Pamphylia, thence from Perga to Attalia, confirming as they came back the churches which they had planted at their first going out. At Attalia they took ship, and sailed to Antioch in Syria, the place whence they had first set out, where they gave the church an account of the whole success of their travels, and what way was made for the propagation of Christianity in the Gentile world.

X. The restless enemy of all goodness was vexed to see so fair and smooth a progress of the gospel, and therefore resolved to attempt it by the old subtle arts of intestine divisions and animosities: what the *envious man* could not stifle by open violence, he sought to choke by sowing *tares*. Some zealous converts coming down from Jerusalem to Antioch, started this notion, which they asserted with all possible zeal and stiffness, that unless together with the Christian religion they joined the observance of the Mosaic rites,[a] there could be no hopes of salvation for them. Paul and Barnabas opposed themselves against this heterodox opinion with all vigour and smartness, but not able to beat it down, were despatched by the church to advise with the apostles and brethren at Jerusalem about this matter: whither they were no sooner come, but they were kindly and courteously entertained, and the "right hand of fellowship,"[b] given them by the three great apostles, Peter, James, and John; and an agreement made between them, that wherever they came, they should betake themselves to the Jews, while Paul and Barnabas applied themselves unto the Gentiles. And here probably it was that Mark reconciled himself to his uncle Barnabas, which, one tells us,[c] he did with tears and great importunity, earnestly begging him to forgive his weakness and cowardice, and promising for the future a firmer constancy and

[a] Acts xv. 1. [b] Gal. ii. 9.

[c] Alexand. Monach. encom. S. Barnab. inter vitas S. Metaph. ap. Sur. ad Jun. xi. n. 15.

more undaunted resolution. But they were especially careful to mind the great affair they were sent about, and accordingly opened the case in a public council convened for that purpose. And Peter having first given his sentence, that the Gentile converts were under no such obligation, Paul and Barnabas acquainted the synod what great things God by their ministry had wrought for the conversion of the Gentiles; a plain evidence that they were accepted by God without the Mosaic rites and ceremonies. The matter being decided by the council, the determination was drawn up into the form of a synodical epistle, which was delivered to Barnabas and Paul, to whom the council gave this eulogium and character, that they were "men that had hazarded their lives for the name of the Lord Jesus Christ,"[d] with whom they joined two of their own, that they might carry it to the churches. Being come to Antioch they delivered the decrees of the council, wherewith the church was abundantly satisfied, and the controversy for the present laid asleep.

XI. It was not long after this that St. Peter came down to Antioch,[e] who, loth to exasperate the zealous Jews, withdrew all converse with the Gentile converts, contrary to his former practice, and his late vote and suffrage in the synod at Jerusalem. The minds of the Gentiles were greatly disturbed at this, and the convert Jews, tempted by his example, abstain from all communion with the Gentiles; nay, so strong was the temptation, that St. Barnabas himself was carried down the stream, and began now to scruple, whether it was lawful to hold communion with the Gentiles, with whom before he had so familiarly conversed, and been so eminently instrumental in their conversion to Christianity: so prevalent an influence has the example of a great or a good man to determine others to what is good or bad. How careful should we be what course we take, lest we seduce and compel others to walk in our crooked paths, and load ourselves with the guilt of those that follow after us! St. Paul shortly after propounded to Barnabas, that they might again visit the churches wherein they had lately planted the Christian faith: he liked the motion, but desired his cousin Mark might again go along with them, which St. Paul would by no means consent to, having found,

[d] Acts xv. 26. [e] Gal. ii. 11.

by his cowardly deserting them at Pamphylia, how unfit he was for such a troublesome and dangerous service. This begat a sharp contest, and ripened into almost an irreconcileable difference between these two holy men: which, as at once it shews, that the best are men of like passions and infirmities with others, subject to be transported with partiality, and carried off with the heats of an irregular passion, so it lets us see "how great a matter a little fire kindles,"[f] and how inconsiderable an occasion may minister to strife and division, and hazard the breach of the firmest charity and friendship. The issue was that the τὸ ζεῦγος τὸ ἱερὸν, (as Theodoret[g] styles these two apostles,) this *sacred pair*, that had hitherto equally and unanimously drawn the yoke of the gospel, now drew several ways, and in some discontent parted from each other: St. Paul, taking Silas, went to the churches of Syria and Cilicia; while Barnabas, accompanied with his cousin Mark, set sail for Cyprus, his own country.

XII. Thus far the sacred historian has for the main gone before us, who here breaks off his accounts concerning him. What became of him afterwards we are left under great uncertainty. Dorotheus[h] and the author of the Recognitions,[i] and some other writings attributed to St. Clemens, make him to have been at Rome, and one of the first that preached the Christian faith in that city; for which Baronius[k] falls foul upon them, not being willing that any should be thought to have been there before St. Peter, though after him (and it is but good manners to let him go first) he is not unwilling to grant his being there. Leaving therefore the difference in point of time, let us see what we find there concerning him. At his first arrival there, about autumn, he is said thus publicly to have addressed himself to the people, Ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι ἀκούσατε. "O ye Romans, give ear. The Son of God has appeared in the country of Judea, promising eternal life to all that are willing to embrace it, and to lead their lives according to the will of the Father that sent him. Wherefore change your course of life, and turn from a worse to a better state, from things temporal to those that are eternal. Acknowledge that there is one only God, who is in heaven, and whose

[f] James iii. 5.
[g] Comm. in Esai. xi. vol. ii. p. 255.
[h] Doroth. Synops. ap. Bibl. patrum, vol. ii. p. 182.
[i] Recogn. l. i. c. 7. Clementin. Hom. i. c. 7. Epitom. de gest. B. Petr. c. 7.
[k] Baron. ad Ann. 51. n. 52. 54. not. ad Martyr. Rom. Jun. xi. p. 257.

world you unjustly possess before his righteous face. But if you reform, and live according to his laws, you shall be translated into another world, where you shall become immortal, and enjoy the ineffable glories and happiness of that state. Whereas if you persist in your infidelity, your souls, after the dissolution of these bodies, shall be cast into a place of flames, where they shall be eternally tormented under the anguish of an unprofitable and too late repentance. For the present life is to every one the only space and season of repentance." This was spoken with great plainness and simplicity, and without any artificial schemes of speech, and accordingly took with the attentive populacy: while the philosophers and more inquisitive heads entertained the discourse with scorn and laughter, (this indeed the author of the *Κλημέντινα*[l] and the Epitome *Πράξεων*,[m] somewhat differently from the Recognitions, refers to his being at Alexandria,) setting upon him with captious questions and syllogisms, and sophistical arts of reasoning. But he, taking no notice of their impertinent questions, went on in his plain discourse, concluding that he had nakedly laid these things before them, and that it lay at their door whether they would reject or entertain them; that for his part he could not without prejudice to himself not declare them, nor they without infinite danger disbelieve them.

XIII. Departing from Rome, he is by different writers made to steer different courses. The Greeks[n] tell us he went for Alexandria, and thence for Judea: the writers[o] of the Roman church (with whom agrees Dorotheus[p] in this matter) that he preached the gospel in Liguria, and founded a church at Milan, whereof he became the first bishop, propagating Christianity in all those parts. But however that was, probable it is that in the last periods of his life he returned unto Cyprus, where my author tells us,[q] he converted many, till some Jews from Syria coming to Salamis, where he then was, enraged with fury set upon him as he was disputing in the synagogue, in a corner whereof they shut him up till night, when they brought him forth, and after infinite tortures stoned him to death. He adds (and the

[l] Clementin. Hom. i. 8, 9, 10. [m] Epitom. de gest. B. Petri, c. 8, &c.

[n] Clementin. et Epitom. ibid. Alexand. Monach. encom. S. Barnab. inter vitas S. Metaph. ap. Sur. ad Jun. xi. n. 13, 14.

[o] Baron. ad Ann. 51. n. 54. Sanct. de præd. S. Jac. Tr. iii. c. 1. n. 9.

[p] Synops. in Bibl. patrum, vol. ii. p. 182. [q] Alexand. ib. n. 18. et seq.

faith of it must rest upon the credit of the relater, who, Baronius[r] tells us, lived at the same time when his corpse was first found out) that they threw his body into the fire with an intent to consume it, but that the flames had not the least power upon it, and that Mark, his kinsman, privately buried it in a cave not far distant from the city, his friends resenting the loss with solemn lamentation. I omit the miracles reported to have been done at his tomb: the remains of his body were discovered in the reign of Zeno,[s] the emperor, (Nicephorus,[t] by a mistake, makes it the twelfth year of Anastasius,) anno 485, dug up under a bean or carob tree, and upon his breast was found St. Matthew's gospel written with Barnabas's own hand, which Anthemius, the bishop, took along with him to Constantinople, where it was received by the emperor with a mighty reverence, and laid up with great care and diligence. The emperor, as a testimony of his joy, honouring the episcopal see of Salamis with this prerogative, that it should be *sedes αὐτοκέφαλος*, independent upon any foreign jurisdiction, a privilege ratified by Justinian the emperor, whose wife Theodora was a Cypriot. The emperor also greatly enriched the bishop at his return, commanding him to build a church to St. Barnabas over the place of his interment, which was accordingly erected with more than ordinary stateliness and magnificence. It is added in the story,[u] that these remains were discovered by the notice of St. Barnabas himself, who three several times appeared to Anthemius; which I behold as a mere addition to the story, designed only to serve a present turn. For Peter, surnamed the Fuller, then patriarch of Antioch, challenged at this time a jurisdiction over the Cyprian churches as subject to his see; this Anthemius would not agree to, but stiffly asserted his own rights; and how easy was it to take this occasion, of finding St. Barnabas's body, to add that of the appearances to him, to gain credit to the cause, and advance it with the emperor? And accordingly it had its designed effect; and whoever reads the whole story, and the circumstances of the apparitions, as related by my author, will see that they seem plainly calculated for such a purpose.

XIV. For his outward form and shape, he is thus represented by the ancients.[x] He was a man of a comely countenance, a

[r] Ad. Ann. 485. n. 4. [s] Theod. Lect. l. ii. art. 2. Alex. Mon. loc. cit. n. 31.
[t] Niceph. Hist. Eccl. l. xvi. c. 37. [u] Alex. ut supra, n. 29, 30. [x] Id. ibid. n. 18.

grave and venerable aspect, his eye-brows short, his eye cheerful and pleasant, darting something of majesty, but nothing of sourness and austerity, his speech sweet and obliging; his garb was mean, and such as became a man of a mortified life, his gait composed and unaffected, grave and decent. This elegant structure was but the lodging of a more noble tenant, a soul richly furnished with divine graces and virtues, a profound humility, diffusive charity, firm faith, an immoveable constancy, and an unconquerable patience, a mighty zeal, and an unwearied diligence in the propagating of Christianity, and for the good of souls. So entirely did he devote himself to an ambulatory course of life, so continually was he employed in running up and down from place to place, that he could find little or no time to leave any writings behind him for the benefit of the church; at least none that have certainly arrived to us. Indeed anciently there were some, and Tertullian[y] particularly, who supposed him to be the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, an opinion generally rejected and thrown out of doors: there is also an epistle still extant under his name of great antiquity frequently cited by Clemens Alexandrinus, and his scholar Origen, (to pass by others,) the latter of whom styles it the Catholic Epistle of Barnabas,[z] but placed by Eusebius[a] among the τὰ νοθὰ, the writings that were not genuine. The frame and contexture of it is intricate and obscure, made up of uncouth allegories, forced and improbable interpretations of Scripture, though the main design of it is to shew, that the Christian religion has superseded the rites and usages of the Mosaic law. The latter part of it contains an useful and excellent exhortation, managed under the notion of two *ways*, the one of *light*, the other of *darkness*; the one under the conduct of the angels of God, (φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι, those illuminating ministers, as he calls them,) the other under the guidance of the angels of Satan, the prince of the iniquity of the age. Under the *way* of *light* he presses to most of the particular duties and instances of the Christian and the spiritual life, which are there with admirable accuracy and succinctness reckoned up; under that of *darkness* he represents those particular sins and vices which we are to decline and shun: and I am confident the pious reader will not think it time lost, nor repent his pains to peruse so

[y] De pudicit. c. 20. vid. Philastr. de Hæres. c. 60.
[z] Contr. Cels. l. i. c. 63.
[a] Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 25.

ancient and useful a discourse. Thus then he expresses himself:

XV. "The way of life is this. Whoever travels towards the appointed place, will hasten by his works to attain to it. And the knowledge that is given us how to walk in this way is this: Thou shalt love thy Creator. Thou shalt glorify him who redeemed thee from death. Thou shalt be simple in heart, and being rich in spirit shalt not join thyself to him that walks in the way of death. Thou shalt hate to do that which is displeasing unto God. Thou shalt hate all manner of hypocrisy. Thou shalt not forsake the commandments of the Lord. Exalt not thyself, but be of an humble mind. Thou shalt not assume glory to thyself. Neither shalt thou take evil council against thy neighbour. Thou shalt not add boldness to thy soul. Thou shalt not commit fornication, nor be guilty of adultery or buggery. Thou shalt not neglect God's command in correcting other men's impurity, nor shalt thou have respect of persons, when thou reprovest any man for his faults. Thou shalt be meek and silent, and stand in awe of the words which thou hearest. Thou shalt not remember evil against thy brother. Thou shalt not be of a double and unstable mind, doubting whether thus or thus. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord in vain. Thou shalt love thy neighbour above thy life. Thou shalt not destroy a child by abortion, nor make it away when it is born. Thou shalt not withhold thy hand from thy son, or from thy daughter, but from their youth shalt teach them the fear of the Lord. Be not desirous of thy neighbour's goods, nor covet much. Neither shalt thou heartily join with the proud, but shalt be numbered with the just and the humble. Entertain trials and temptations, when they happen to thee, as instruments of good. Thou shalt not be double-minded, nor of a deceitful tongue, for a double tongue is the snare of death. Thou shalt be subject to the Lord, and to masters as God's representatives, in reverence and fear. Thou shalt not command thy maid or man-servant with bitterness and severity, those especially that hope in God, lest thou thyself prove one that fearest not him, who is over both: for he came not to call men according to outward appearance, but those whom his Spirit did prepare. Thou shalt communicate to thy neighbour in all things, and shalt not call what thou hast thine own: for if ye mutually partake in incorruptible

things, how much more in things that are corruptible. Be not rash with thy tongue, for the mouth is the snare of death. Keep thy soul as chaste as thou canst; stretch not forth thy hands to take, and shut them when thou shouldst give. Love all those that speak to thee the word of the Lord, as the apple of thine eye. Remember the day of judgment night and day. Seek out daily the faces of holy men, and searching by the word, go forth to exhort, and by it study to save a soul. And with thy hands shalt thou labour for the redemption of thy sins. Delay not to give, nor begrudge when thou art charitable. Give to every one that asks thee; and thou shalt know who is the good recompenser of the reward. Thou shalt keep the things which thou hast received, neither adding to them, nor taking from them. Thou shalt ever hate a wicked person. Judge righteously. Make no schism. Make peace between those that are at difference, reconciling them to each other. Confess thy sins, and come not to prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of light."[b]

XVI. "But now the *way of darkness* is crooked and full of curses. For it is the way of eternal death attended with punishment; wherein are things destructive to their souls—idolatry, audaciousness, height of domination, hypocrisy, double-heartedness, adultery, murder, rapine, pride, transgression, deceit, malice, arrogance, witchcraft, magic, covetousness, want of the fear of God; persecutors of good men, haters of the truth, men who love but do not know the wages of righteousness; persons that adhere not to what is good, nor who by righteous judgment regard the case of the widow and the orphan; watchful not for the fear of God, but for what is evil; great strangers to meekness and patience; lovers of vanity, greedy of revenge, who compassionate not the poor, nor endeavour to relieve the oppressed; prone to detraction, not knowing their Maker; murderers of children, defacers of God's workmanship, such as turn away themselves from the needy, add affliction to the afflicted, plead for the rich, and unjustly judge the poor, sinners altogether."[c] And having thus described these two different ways, he concludes his discourse with a hearty and passionate exhortation, that since the time of rewards and punishments was drawing on, they would mind these things, as those that were taught of God,

[b] Barnab. Ep. c. 19. [c] Ibid. c. 20.

searching after what God required of them, and setting themselves to the practice of it, that they might be saved at the day of judgment. I have no more to remark concerning this excellent person, than to add the character given of him by a pen that could not err, "he was a good man, full of faith, and of the Holy Ghost." [d]

[d] Acts xi. 24.

THE LIFE OF SAINT TIMOTHY

THE APOSTLE AND EVANGELIST.

St. Timothy's country and kindred. His religious education. The great advantages of an early piety. Converted to Christianity by St. Paul, and made choice of to be his companion. Circumcised by St. Paul, and why. This no contradicting St. Paul's doctrine concerning circumcision. His travels with St. Paul for the propagation of the faith. His return from Thessalonica, and St. Paul's two epistles to that church. St. Timothy consecrated bishop of Ephesus. The consent of antiquity herein. Ordination in those times usually done by prophetic designation, and the reason of it. Timothy's age enquired into. The importance of *νέος* and *νεότης* (let no man despise thy youth); the words shewed to be used by the best writers for a considerable age. St. Paul's first and second epistles to him, and the importance of them. The manners of the Ephesians noted. Their festival called *καταγώγιον*. St. Timothy's martyrdom. The time of his death, place of his burial, and translation of his body. His weak and infirm constitution. His great abstinence, and admirable zeal. St. Paul's singular affection for him. Different from Timotheus in St. Denys the Areopagite. Another Timothy, St. Paul's disciple, martyred under Antoninus.

I. SAINT Timothy was, as we may probably conceive, a Lycaonian, born at Lystra, a noted city of that province. He was a person in whom the Jew, the Gentile, and the Christian met altogether. His father was by birth a Greek, by religion a Gentile, or if a proselyte, at most but גר תושב, "a proselyte of the gate," who did not oblige themselves to circumcision, and the rites of Moses, but only to the observance of the "seven precepts of the sons of Noah:" his mother Eunice, daughter to the devout and pious Lois, was a Jewess, who yet scrupled not to marry with this Greek; an argument that the partition wall now tottered, and was ready to fall, when Jew and Gentile began thus to match together.[a] His mother and grandmother were women very eminently virtuous and holy, and seem to have been amongst the first that were converted to the Christian faith. Nor was it the least instance of their piety, the care they took of his education,

[a] Chrysost. Hom. i. in 2 Tim. s. 2. vol. xi. p. 660.

instructing him in the knowledge of divine things, and seasoning his tender years with virtuous and sober principles, so that "from a child he was acquainted with the holy Scriptures,"[b] whereby he was admirably prepared for the reception of Christianity, and furnished for the conduct of a strict pious life. And indeed religion never thrives more kindly, than when it is planted betimes, and the foundations of it laid in an early piety.[c] For the mind, being then soft and tender, is easily capable of the best impressions, which by degrees insinuate themselves into it, and insensibly reconcile it to the difficulties of an holy life; so that what must necessarily be harsh and severe to a man that endeavours to rescue himself from an habitual course of sin, the other is unacquainted with, and goes on smoothly in a way that is become pleasant and delightful. None start with greater advantages, nor usually persevere with a more vigorous constancy, than they who "remember their Creator in the days of their youth,"[d] and sacrifice the first-fruits of their time to God and to religion, before corrupt affections have clapped a bias upon their inclinations, and a train of vices depraved, and in great measure laid asleep, the natural notions of good and evil.

II. Prepared by so excellent a culture in the Jewish religion, God was pleased to transplant him into a better soil. St. Paul, in pursuance of his commission to preach the gospel to the Gentiles, had come as far as Antioch in Pisidia, thence to Iconium, and so to Lystra, where the miraculous cure of an impotent cripple made way for the entertainment of the Christian doctrine. Among others there converted, we are told[e] were St. Timothy's parents, who courteously treated and entertained the apostle at their house, wholly resigning up their son to his care and conduct. About two years after, in his review of those late plantations, he came again to Lystra, where he made choice of Timothy,[f] recommended to him by the universal testimony of the Christians thereabouts, as an evangelist, to be his assistant and the companion of his travels, that he might have somebody always with him, with whom he could entrust matters of importance, and whom he might despatch upon any extraordinary affair and exigence of the church. Indeed Timothy was not circumcised; for this being a branch of the paternal authority, did not lie in his

[b] 2 Tim. iii. 15. [c] Plut. de liber. educ. vol. ii. p. 4. [d] Eccl. xii. 1.
[e] S. Metaphr. de S. Timoth. ap. Sur. ad Jun. 22. [f] Acts xvi. 1, 2, 3.

mother's power: this was notoriously known to all the Jews, and this St. Paul knew would be a mighty prejudice to his ministry wherever he came. For the Jews, being infinitely zealous for circumcision, would not with any tolerable patience endure any man to preach to them, or so much as to converse with them, who was himself uncircumcised. That this obstacle therefore might be removed, he caused him to be circumcised, becoming in lawful matters "all things to all men, that he might gain the more."[g] Admirable (says Chrysostom[h]) the wisdom and prudence of St. Paul, who had this design in it, *Περιέτεμεν, ἵνα περιτομὴν καθέλῃ*: "he circumcised him, that he might take away circumcision;" that is, be the more acceptable to the Jews, and by that means the more capable to undeceive them in their opinion of the necessity of those legal rites. At other times we find him smartly contending against circumcision as a justification of the Mosaic institutions, and a virtual undermining the great ends of Christianity. Nor did he in this instance contradict his own doctrine, or unwarrantably symbolize with the Jews; it being only (as Clemens[i] of Alexandria observes concerning this passage) a prudent condescension to the present humour of the Jews, whom he was unwilling to disoblige, and make them wholly fly off, by a too sudden and violent rending them from the circumcision in the flesh, to bring them over to the circumcision of the heart. So that he who thus accommodates himself for the salvation of another, can no ways be charged with dissimulation and hypocrisy; seeing he does that purely for the advantage of others, which he would not do for any other reason, or upon account of the things themselves: this being *τοῦ φιλανθρώπου καὶ φιλοθέου παιδευτοῦ*, the part of a wise and kind instructor, who is a true lover of God and the souls of men.

III. St. Paul thus fitted with a meet companion, forwards they set in their evangelical progress, and having passed through Phrygia and Galatia, came down to Troas, thence they set sail for Samothracia, and so to Neapolis, whence they passed to Philippi, the metropolis of that part of Macedonia: where being evil entreated by the magistrates and people, they departed to Thessalonica, whence the fury and malice of the Jews made them fly to Beræa. Here they met with people of a more generous and

[g] 1 Cor. ix. 19, 22.
[h] Hom. xxxiv. in Act. Apost. a. 3. vol. ix. p. 263.
[i] Stromat. l. vii. c. 9.

manly temper, ready to embrace the Christian doctrine, but yet not till they had first compared it with the predictions which the prophets had made concerning the Messiah. But even here they could not escape the implacable spirit of the Jews, so that the Christians were forced privately to conduct St. Paul to Athens, while Silas and Timothy, not so much the immediate objects of their spite and cruelty, stayed behind, to instruct and confirm the converts of that place. Whether they came to him during his stay at Athens, is uncertain: St. Luke takes no farther notice of them till their coming to him at Corinth, his next remove. Where at their first arrival, (if it was not at Athens,) St. Paul despatched away Timothy to Thessalonica,[k] to inquire into the state of Christianity in that city, and to confirm them in the belief and profession of the Gospel; for he seems to have had a more peculiar kindness for that church, having since his last being there more than once resolved himself to go back to them,[l] but that the great enemy of souls had still thrown some rub in the way to hinder him.

IV. From Thessalonica Timothy returned[m] with the welcome news of their firmness and constancy, notwithstanding the persecutions they endured, their mutual charity to each other, and particular affection to St. Paul; news wherewith the good man was infinitely pleased: as certainly nothing can minister greater joy and satisfaction to a faithful guide of souls, than to behold the welfare and prosperity of his people. Nor did his care of them end here, but he presently writes his first epistle to them, to animate them under their sufferings, and not to desert the Christian religion, because the cross did attend it, but rather to adorn their Christian profession by a life answerable to the holy designs and precepts of it. In the front of this epistle he inserted not only his own name, but also those of Silas and Timothy, partly to reflect the greater honour upon his fellow-workers, partly that their united authority and consent might have the stronger influence and force upon them. The like he did in a second epistle, which not long after he sent to them, to supply the want of his personal presence, whereof in his former he had given them some hopes, and which he himself seemed so passionately to desire. Eighteen months, at least, they had continued

[k] 1 Thess. iii. 1, 2, 3. [l] 1 Thess. ii. 17, 18, 19. [m] 1 Thess. iii. 6, 7, &c.

at Corinth, when St. Paul resolved upon a journey to Jerusalem, where he stayed not long, but went for Antioch; and having travelled over the countries of Galatia and Phrygia to establish Christianity, lately planted in those parts, came to Ephesus, where though he met with great opposition, yet he preached with greater success; and was so wholly swallowed up with the concerns of that city, that, though he had resolved himself to go into Macedonia, he was forced to send Timothy and Erastus in his stead, who having done their errand, returned to Ephesus, to assist him in promoting the affairs of religion in that place.

V. St. Paul having for three years resided at Ephesus and the parts about it, determined to take his leave, and depart for Macedonia. And now it was (as himself plainly intimates,[n] and the ancients generally conceive) that he constituted Timothy bishop and governor of that church; he was the first bishop (says Eusebius)[o] of the province or diocese of Ephesus; he did πρῶτος Ἐφέσου ἐπισκοπῆσαι, says the author in Photius,[p] "first act as bishop of Ephesus," and in the council of Chalcedon[q] twenty-seven bishops are said successively to have sitten in that chair, whereof St. Timothy was the first. In the Apostolical Constitutions[r] he is expressly said to have been ordained bishop of it by St. Paul, or as he in Photius expresseth it, a little more after the mode of his time, "he was ordained and enthroned (or installed) bishop of the metropolis of the Ephesians by the great St. Paul."[s] Ephesus was a great and populous city, and the civil government of the proconsul, who resided there, reached over the whole Lydian or proconsular Asia. And such in proportion the ancients make the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of that church, St. Chrysostom[t] affirming it to be plain and evident, that Timothy had the church, or rather the whole nation of Asia committed to him; to him (says Theodoret)[u] divine St. Paul committed τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, the care and the charge of Asia; upon which account a little after he calls him "the Apostle of the Asians."[x] As for the manner of his ordination, or rather designation to the ministeries of religion,

[n] 1 Tim. i. 3.
[o] Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 4.
[p] Martyr. Tim. ap. Phot. Bibl. CCLIV.
[q] Conc. Chalced. Act. xi. vol. ii. p. 557.
[r] Lib. vii. c. 47.
[s] Martyr. Tim. ap. Phot. ut supra.
[t] Hom. xv. in 1 Tim. s. 2. vol. xi. p. 637.
[u] Argum. in 1 ad Tim. vol. iii. p. 638.
[x] Com. in 1 Tim. iii. vol. iii. p. 652.

it was by particular and extraordinary designation, God immediately testifying it to be his will and pleasure; thence it is said to have been done κατὰ τὰς προαγουσας προφητείας, "according to some preceding predictions concerning him,"[y] and that he received it not only by the "laying on of hands," but "by prophecy,"[z] that is, as Chrysostom[a] truly explains it, by the Holy Ghost; it being part of the prophetic office, (as he adds, and especially it was so at that time,) not only to foretell future events, but to declare things present, God extraordinarily manifesting whom he would have set apart for that weighty office. Thus Paul and Barnabas were separated by the special dictate of the Holy Ghost; and of the governors of the Ephesine churches that met at Miletus, it is said, that "the Holy Ghost had made them bishops, or overseers of the church." And this way of election by way of prophetic revelation continued in use at least during the apostolic age: Clemens,[b] in his Epistle to the Corinthians, tells us, that the apostles preaching up and down cities and countries, constituted their first-fruits to be the bishops and deacons of those who should believe, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, "making trial of them by the Spirit:" and another Clemens[c] reports of St. John, that visiting the neighbour churches about Ephesus, he ordained bishops, and such as were signified, or pointed out to him "by the Spirit."

VI. This extraordinary and miraculous way of choosing bishops and ecclesiastic officers, besides other advantages, begat a mighty reverence and veneration for the governors of the church, who were looked upon as God's choice, and as having the more immediate character of heaven upon them. And especially this way seemed more necessary for St. Timothy than others, to secure him from that contempt which his youth might otherwise have exposed him to. For that he was but young at that time, is evident from St. Paul's counsel to him, so to demean himself, that "no man might despise his youth:"[d] the governors of the church in those days were πρεσβύτεροι, in respect of their age as well as office, and indeed therefore styled *elders*, because they usually were persons of a considerable age that were admitted

[y] 1 Tim. i. 18.
[z] 1 Tim. iv. 14.
[a] Homil. v. in 1 Tim. a. 1. vol. xi. p. 574.
[b] Epist. ad Corinth. c. 42.
[c] Clem. Alex. lib. Τὶς ὁ πλούσιος σωζόμενος, ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 23.
[d] 1 Tim. iv. 12.

into the orders of the church: this Timothy had not attained to. And yet the word νεότης, *youth*, admits a greater latitude than we in ordinary speech confine it to. Cicero tells us of himself,[e] that he was *adolescentulus*, but a very youth when he pleaded Roscius's cause; and yet A. Gellius[f] proves him to have been at that time no less than twenty-seven years old. Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, is called νεανίσκος,[g] a *youth*, at the time of his death, when yet he was above thirty. Hiero, in Polybius,[h] is styled κομιδῇ νέος, "a very young man," whom yet Casaubon proves to have been thirty-five years of age; and the same historian, speaking of T. Flaminius's making war upon Philip of Macedon, says, he was νέος κομιδῇ, "a very young man," for that he was not above thirty years old: it being (as Casaubon observes) the custom both of Greek and Latin writers to extend the *juventus*, or youthful age, from the thirtieth till the fortieth year of a man's life: to which we may add what Grotius observes,[i] that νεότης, answering to the Hebrew בחורה, denotes *the military age*, all that civil and manly part of a man's life that is opposed to old age; so that Timothy's youth, without any force or violence to the word, might very well consist with his being at least thirty, or five and thirty years of age, and he so styled only comparatively with respect to that weighty function, which was wont to be conferred upon none but grave and aged men. But of this enough.

VII. St. Timothy, thus fixed at Ephesus, did yet accompany St. Paul[k] some part of his journey into Greece, at least went to him thither upon some urgent affairs of the church, and then returned to his charge. Not long after which St. Paul wrote his first epistle to him, to encourage him in his duty, and direct him how to behave himself in that eminent station wherein he had set him. And because the success of the ministry does in a great measure depend upon the persons employed in it, he gives him more particular rules how to proceed in this matter, and how the persons ought to be qualified, whom he admitted to that honourable and important office, ὡς ἐν τύπῳ τὸν ἱεραρχικὸν βίον καὶ λόγον ἀναγκαίως διεξιὼν, as Nicephorus speaks,[l] excellently

[e] In Orator. c. 30. [f] Noct. Attic. l. xv. c. 28. [g] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 13.
[h] Hist. l. i. p. 11. ubi vid. Casaub. Comm. p. 129. et ejusd. exercit. ad Baron. Appar. n. 99.
[i] Annot. in loc. [k] Acts xx. 2, 3, &c. [l] Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 34.

representing in that epistle, as in a short draught, the life and conversation of the sacred governors of the church, describing the tempers and manners of those who are appointed to be the guides and ministers of religion. Well he knew also that crafty teachers and false apostles were creeping into the church, whose principles and practices he remarks, warning him to beware of them, and to stand continually upon his guard against them. The holy man followed his instructions, and was no doubt faithful to his trust, which he managed with all care and diligence. About six years after, St. Paul, being then a prisoner at Rome, wrote a second epistle to him, (for that this epistle was written at his first coming to Rome, we have shewed elsewhere,[m]) to excite him to a mighty care and fidelity in his business, and in undermining the false and subtle insinuations of seducers. In it he orders Timothy to come to him with all speed to Rome,[n] who accordingly came, and joined with him in the several epistles written thence to the Philippians, Colossians, and to Philemon, as his name in the front of those epistles does abundantly declare. During his stay at Rome he was upon some occasion cast into prison, and thence released and set at liberty about the time of St. Paul's enlargement, as he clearly intimates in the close of his epistle to the Hebrews;[o] after which he came back to Ephesus, nor is it probable that he any more removed from thence, till his translation into heaven. And here it was that he became acquainted with St. John, whose apostolical province mainly lay in Asia, and the parts about Ephesus; and so the Acts,[p] under the name of Polycrates, one of his successors, (doubtless of good antiquity, being those mentioned and made use of by Photius,) report, that he conversed with and was an auditor of St. John the Divine, who lay in the bosom of our Lord.

VIII. The Ephesians were a people of great looseness and impiety, their manners were wanton and effeminate, profane and prodigal: they banished Hermodorus only because he was more sober and thrifty than the rest, enacting a decree, "Let none of ours be thrifty."[q] They were strangely bewitched with the study of magic, and the arts of sorcery and divination; miserably

[m] Antiq. Apost. Life of St. Paul, sect. 7. n. 5.
[n] 2 Tim. iv. 9.
[o] Hebr. xiii. 23, 24.
[p] Ap. Bolland. Januar. 24.
[q] Strab. Geogr. l. xiv. p. 950.

overrun with idolatry, especially the temple and worship of Diana, for which they were famous through the whole world. Among their many idolatrous festivals they had one called *ΚΑΤΑΓΩΓΙΟΝ*,[r] which was celebrated after this manner: habiting themselves in an antic dress, and covering their faces with ugly vizors, that they might not be known, with clubs in their hands, they carried idols in a wild and a frantic manner up and down the more eminent places of the city, singing certain songs and verses to them; and without any compassion or respect either to age or sex, setting upon all persons that they met, they beat out their brains, glorying in it as a brave achievement, and a great honour to their gods. This cursed and execrable custom gave just offence to all pious and good men, especially St. Timothy, whose spirit was grieved to see God so openly dishonoured, human nature sunk into such a deep degeneracy, and so arbitrarily transported to the most savage barbarities by the great murderer of souls. The good man oft endeavoured to reclaim them by lenitive and mild entreaties; but, alas! gentle physic works little upon a stubborn constitution. When that would not do, out he comes to them into the midst of the street upon one of these fatal solemnities, and reproves them with some necessary sharpness and severity. But cruelty and licentiousness are too headstrong to brook opposition: impatient of being controlled in their wild extravagancies, they fall upon him with their clubs, beat and drag him up and down, and then leave him for dead; whom some Christians finding yet to breathe, took up, and lodged him without the gate of the city, where the third day after he expired. He suffered martyrdom on the thirtieth day of the fourth month, according to the Asian computation, or in the Roman account on the twenty-second of January, as the Greek church celebrates his memory, or the twenty-fourth, according to the Latin. It happened (as some would have it) in the time of Nerva, while others more probably refer it to the reign of Domitian, it being done before St. John's return from his banishment in Patmos, which was about the beginning of Nerva's reign. Being dead, the Chris-

[r] Martyr. Timoth. Apost. ap. Phot. Bibl. 254. Com. de S. Timoth. S. Metaphr. apud Sur. ad Jan. 24. Fragment. vit. S. Timoth. Græce ap. P. Halloix in vit. Polycarp. forsan ex Act. S. Timoth. à Polycrat. (uti aiunt) scriptis, quæ eadem habent, ap. Bolland. ad Januar. 24.

tians of Ephesus took his body, and decently interred it in a place called Pion, (Piron, says Isidore,[s] who adds, that it was a mountain,) where it securely rested for some ages, till Constantine the Great,[t] or, as others, his son Constantius, caused it to be translated to Constantinople, and laid up together with those of St. Andrew and St. Luke, in the great church erected by Constantine to the holy apostles.

IX. He was a man of no very firm and healthful constitution, frequent distempers assaulting him, besides the constant infirmities that hung upon him: which St. Chrysostom[u] conceives were in a great measure owing to his extraordinary temperance, and too frequent fastings: an effectual course to subdue those "youthful lusts" which St. Paul cautioned him to shun, there being no such way to extinguish the fire, as to withdraw the fuel: he allowed himself no delicious meats, and generous wines; bread and water was his usual bill of fare, till by excessive abstinence, and the meanness and coarseness of his diet, he had weakened his appetite, and rendered his stomach unfit to serve the ends of nature; insomuch that St. Paul was forced to impose it as a kind of law upon him, that he should "no longer drink water, but use a little wine for his stomach's sake, and his often infirmities."[x] And yet in the midst of this weak tottering carcase there dwelt a vigorous and sprightly mind, a soul acted by a mighty zeal, and inspired with a true love to God: he thought no difficulties great, no dangers formidable, that he might be serviceable to the purposes of religion, and the interest of souls: he flew from place to place with a quicker speed, and a more unwearied resolution, than could have been expected from a stronger and a healthier person; now to Ephesus, then to Corinth, oft into Macedonia, then to Italy, crossing sea and land, and surmounting a thousand hazards and oppositions: in all which (as Chrysostom's words are[y]) the weakness of his body did not prejudice the divine philosophy of his mind; so strangely active and powerful is zeal for God, so nimbly does it wing the soul with the swiftest flight. And certainly (as he adds) as a great and robust body is little better for its health, which has

[s] De Vit. et Obit. SS. c. 86.

[t] Hieron. adv. Vigil. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 283. Niceph. Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 43. Metaphr. ubi supra.

[u] Chrysost. Hom. i. ad Pop. Antioch. a. 3. vol. ii. p. 4.

[x] 1 Tim. v. 23. [y] Loc. citat. a. 4. p. 6.

nothing but a dull and a heavy soul to inform it; so bodily weakness is no great impediment, where there is a quick and a generous mind to animate and enliven it.

X. These excellent virtues infinitely endeared him to St. Paul, who seems to have had a very passionate kindness for him, never mentioning him without great tenderness, and titles of reverence and respect: sometimes styling him his son, his brother, his fellow-labourer, "Timotheus, our brother, and minister of God, and our fellow-labourer in the gospel of Christ;"[z] sometimes with additions of a particular affection and honourable regard, "Timothy, my dearly beloved son;"[a] "Timotheus, who is my beloved son, and faithful in the Lord:"[b] and to the church of Philippi more expressly, "I trust to send Timotheus shortly to you, for I have no man like-minded, (*ἰσόψυχον*, equally dear to me as myself,) who will naturally care for your state: for all seek their own, not the things that are Jesus Christ's; but ye know the proof of him, that as a son with the father he hath served with me in the gospel."[c] And because he knew that he was a young man, and of a temper easily capable of harsh and unkind impressions, he entered a particular caution on his behalf with the church of Corinth, "If Timotheus come, see that he may be with you without fear, for he worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do: let no man therefore despise him, but conduct him forth in peace, that he may come unto me."[d] Instances of a great care and tenderness, and which plainly suppose Timothy to have been an extraordinary person. His very calling him his "dearly beloved son," Chrysostom[e] thinks a sufficient argument of his virtue. For such affection not being founded in nature, can flow from nothing but virtue and goodness, the lovely and essential ornaments of a divine and a holy soul. We love our children not only because witty, or handsome, kind and dutiful, but because they are ours, and very often for no other reason; nor can we do otherwise, so long as we are subject to the impressions and the laws of nature. Whereas true goodness and virtue have no other arts but their own naked worth and beauty to recommend them, nor can by any other argument challenge regard and veneration from us.

[z] 1 Thess. iii. 2. [a] 2 Tim. i. 2. [b] 1 Cor. iv. 17.
[c] Phil. ii. 19, 20, &c. [d] 1 Cor. xvi. 10, 11.
[e] Hom. i. in 2 Tim. s. 1. vol. xi. p. 659.

XI. Some dispute there has been among the writers of the church of Rome, whether our St. Timothy was the same with him, to whom Dionysius the Areopagite dedicates the books said to be written by him; and troops of arguments are mustered on either side. But the foundation of the controversy is quite taken away with us, who are sufficiently assured, that those books were written some hundreds of years after St. Denys's head was laid in the dust. However it may not be improper to remark, that besides ours, bishop of Ephesus, we are told of another St. Timothy,[f] disciple also to St. Paul, the son of Pudens and Priscilla, who is said to have lived unto a great age, till the times of Antoninus the emperor, and Pius bishop of Rome; and that he came over into Britain, converted and baptized Lucius king of this island, the first king that ever embraced the Christian faith. Pius bishop of Rome, in a letter[g] to Justus bishop of Vienne, (which though suspected by most, is yet owned by Baronius,[h]) reckons him among the presbyters that had been educated by the apostles, and had come to Rome, and tells us that he had suffered martyrdom: accordingly, the Roman Martyrology informs us,[i] that he obtained the crown of martyrdom under Antoninus the emperor: a story which, as I cannot confute, so I am not over-forward to believe, nor is it of moment enough to my purpose more particularly to inquire about it.

[f] Pet. de Natal. Hist. SS. l. i. c. 24. Naucler. Chron. vol. ii. gener. 6. confer. Adon. Martyr. ad xii. Kal. Jul. vid. Usser. de primord. c. 3.

[g] Concill. ed. reg. vol. i. p. 230.

[h] Bar. ad Ann. 166. n. 1, 2.

[i] Martyrol. Rom. ad Mar. 24.

THE LIFE OF SAINT TITUS

BISHOP OF CRETE.

His country enquired into. The report of his noble extraction. His education and conversion to Christianity. His acquaintance with, and accompanying St. Paul to the synod at Jerusalem. St. Paul's refusing to circumcise him, and why. His attending St. Paul in his travels. Their arrival in Crete. Titus constituted by him bishop of that island. The testimonies of the ancients to that purpose. The intimations of it in St. Paul's epistle to him. St. Paul's censure of the people of Crete, justified by the account which Gentile writers give of their evil manners. A short view of the epistle itself. The directions concerning ecclesiastic persons. His charge to exhort and convince gainsayers. Crete abounding with heretical teachers. Jewish fables and genealogies what, and whence derived. The Æones and συζυγίαι of the ancient Gnostics borrowed from the θεογονίαι of the heathen poets. This shewn by particular instances. Titus commanded to attend St. Paul at Nicopolis. His coming to him into Macedonia. His following St. Paul to Rome, and departure into Dalmatia. The story of Pliny the Younger's being converted by him in Crete, censured. His age and death. The church erected to his memory.

I. The ancient writers of the church make little mention of this holy man; who, and whence he was, is not known, but by uncertain probabilities. St. Chrysostom[a] conjectures him to have been born at Corinth, for no other reason, but because in some ancient copies (as still is in several manuscripts at this day) mention is made of St. Paul's going at Corinth into the house of one [Titus] named "Justus, one that worshipped."[b] The writers of later ages generally make him to be born in Crete, better known by the modern name of Candia, a noble island, (as the historian calls it,[c] who adds that the only cause of the Romans making war there, was a desire to conquer so brave a country,) in the Ægean sea, not more famous of old for being the birth-place of Jupiter, the sovereign of the heathen gods, and the Dædalean labyrinth said to be in it, than of late for its

[a] Hom. i. in Tit. s. 1. vol. xi. p. 729.
[b] Acts xviii. 7.
[c] Flor. Hist. Rom. l. iii. c. 7.

having been so long the seat of war between the Turkish emperor and the state of Venice. Antiquity has not certainly conveyed down to us any particular notice of his parents, though, might we believe the account which some give, he was of no common extract, but of the blood royal, his pedigree being derived from no less than Minos king of Crete,[d] whom the poets make the son of Jupiter, and for the equity of his laws, and the impartial justice of his government, prefer him to be one of the three great judges in the infernal regions, whose place it is to determine men's future and eternal state; while historians more truly affirm him to have been the son of Xanthus king of that island, and that he succeeded his father in the kingdom. But I pass by that.

II. But whatever his parentage was, we are sure that he was a Greek, probably both by nation and religion. The Greek church in their public offices give us this account of his younger years, and conversion to Christianity: that being sprung from noble parents, his youth was consecrated to learning and a generous education. At twenty years old he heard a voice, which told him, he must depart thence, that he might save his soul, for that all his learning else would be of little advantage to him.[e] Not satisfied with the warning, he desired again to hear the voice. A year after, he was again commanded in a vision to peruse the volume of Jewish law. He opened the book, and cast his eye upon that of the prophet, "Keep silence before me, O islands, and let the people renew their strength: let them come near, let them speak: let us come near together to judgment," &c.[f] Whereupon his uncle, at that time proconsul of Crete, having heard the fame of our Lord's miracles in Judea, sent him to Jerusalem, where he continued till Christ's ascension, when he was converted by that famous sermon of St. Peter's, whereby he gained at once three thousand souls. I cannot secure the truth of this story, though pretended to be derived out of the Acts, said to be written by Zenas the lawyer, mentioned by St. Paul: an authority, I confess, which without better evidence I dare not encourage the reader to lay too much stress upon. Let us therefore come to somewhat more certain and unquestionable.

III. Being arrived in Judea, or the parts thereabouts, and

[d] Menæon Græc. Αὐγουστ τῇ κε' sub. lit. μ. 111. [e] Id. ibid. [f] Isai. xli. 1.

convinced of the truth and divinity of the Christian faith, he became St. Paul's convert and disciple, though when or where converted we find not. Likely it is, either that he followed St. Paul in the nature of a companion and attendant, or that he incorporated himself into the church of Antioch: where when the famous controversy arose concerning circumcision and the Mosaic institutions, as equally necessary to be observed with the belief and practice of Christianity, they determined that "Paul and Barnabas, and certain others of them should go up to Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders about this question;"[g] nay, a very ancient MS.[h] adds, that when Paul earnestly persuaded them to continue in the doctrine which they had been taught, those very Jewish zealots who came down to Antioch, and had first started the scruple, did "themselves desire Paul and Barnabas and some others to go and consult with the apostles and elders at Jerusalem, and stand to their sentence and determination of the case." In the number of those who were sent upon this evangelical embassy was our St. Titus, whom St. Paul[i] (encouraged to this journey by a particular revelation) was willing to take along with him. No sooner were they come to Jerusalem, but spies were at hand; some zealous Jews, pretending themselves to be Christian converts, insinuated themselves into St. Paul's company and acquaintance, narrowly observing what liberty he took in point of legal rites, that thence they might pick an accusation against him. They charged him that he preached to, and conversed with the Gentiles, and that at this very time Titus an uncircumcised Greek was his intimate familiar: a scandal which there was no way to avoid, but by circumcising him, that so it might appear that he had no design to undermine the rites and customs of the law. This, St. Paul (who knew when to give ground, and when to maintain his station) would by no means consent to: he who at another time was content to circumcise Timothy, a Jew by by the mother's side, that he might please the Jews to their edification, and have the fairer advantage to win upon them, refused here to circumcise Titus a Gentile, that he might not seem to betray the liberties of the gospel, harden the Jews in their unreasonable and inveterate prejudices against the heathens, and give just ground of scandal and discouragement to

[g] Acts xv. 1, 2. [h] Cod. Bezæ MS. ad Act. xv. 2. [i] Gal. ii. 1, 2.

the Gentiles, and make them fly off to a greater distance from Christianity. Accordingly he resisted their importunity with an invincible resolution, and his practice herein was immediately justified by the decretory sentence of the council, summoned to determine this matter.

IV. The affair about which they were sent being despatched in the synod, he returned no doubt with St. Paul to Antioch, and thence accompanied him in his travels, till having gone over the churches of Syria and Cilicia, they set sail for Crete. For that period of time I conceive with Capellus[k] most probable for their going over to that island, rather than, with Baronius[l] and others, to place it at St. Paul's coming out of Macedonia into Greece, which he supposes to have been by a sea voyage, passing by the Cycladæ islands through the Ægean sea; or with Grotius[m] to refer it till his voyage to Rome, founding his conjecture upon a double mistake, that St. Paul and his company put in and stayed at Crete, when it is only said, that "they sailed under it, and passed by it," and that Titus was then in the company, whereof no footsteps or intimations appear in the story. Sailing therefore from some port in Cilicia, they arrived at Crete,[n] where St. Paul industriously set himself to preach and propagate the Christian faith, delighting (as much as might be) to be the first messenger of the glad tidings of the gospel to all places where he came, not planting "in another man's line," or building "of things made ready to his hand." But because the care of other churches called upon him, and would not permit him to stay long enough here to see Christianity brought to a due maturity and perfection, he constituted Titus bishop of that island, that he might nourish that infant church, superintend its growth and prosperity, and manage the government and administration of it. This the ancients with one mouth declare: "He was the first bishop (says Eusebius)[o] of the churches in Crete:" "the apostle consecrated him bishop of it," so St. Ambrose; so Dorotheus,[p] and Sophronius:[q] "he was (says Chrysostom)[r] an approved person, to whom ἡ νῆσος ὁλόκληρος, the whole island was

[k] Histor. Apost. ad Ann. Christ. 46.
[l] Ad Ann. 57. n. 212.
[m] In Argum. Epist. ad Tit. Act. xxvii. 7.
[n] Praef. in Tit. vol. ii. p. 313. inter opp. suppos.
[o] Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 4.
[p] Doroth. Synops. vol. ii. bibl. patrum, p. 182.
[q] Ap. Hier. de Script. in Tit.
[r] Chrysost. Hom. i. in Tit. s. l. vol. xi. p. 729.

entirely committed, that he might exercise power and jurisdiction over so many bishops:" "he was by St. Paul ordained bishop of Crete, though a very large island, that he might ordain bishops under him," says Theodoret expressly.[s] To which might be added the testimonies of Theophylact, Oecumenius, and others, and the subscription at the end of the epistle to Titus, (which, though not dictated by the same hand, is ancient however,) where he is said to have been "ordained the first bishop of the church of the Cretans." And St. Chrysostom[t] gives this as the reason, why of all his disciples and followers St. Paul wrote epistles to Titus and Timothy, and not to Silas or Luke, because he had committed to them the care and government of churches, while he reserved the others as attendants and ministers to go along with himself.

V. Nor is this merely the arbitrary sense of antiquity in the case, but seems evidently founded in St. Paul's own intimation, where he tells Titus, "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee;"[u] that is, I constituted thee governor of that church, that thou mightest dispose and order the affairs of it according to the rules and directions which I then gave thee. "'Ordain elders,' he means bishops, (says Chrysostom,[x]) as elsewhere I have oft explained it." "Elders in every city," he was not willing (as he adds) that the whole administration of so great an island should be managed by one, but that every city might have its proper governor to inspect and take care of it, that so the burden might be lighter by being laid upon many shoulders, and the people attended with the greater diligence. Indeed Crete was famous for number of cities above any other island in the world, thence styled of old *Hecatompolis*, the island of an hundred cities. In short, plain it is, that Titus had power of jurisdiction, ordination, and ecclesiastical censures, above any other pastors or ministers in that church, conferred and derived upon him.

VI. Several years St. Titus continued at his charge in Crete, when he received a summons from St. Paul, then ready to depart from Ephesus. The apostle had desired Apollos to accompany Timothy and some others whom he had sent to

[s] Argum. Epist. ad Tit. vol. iii. p. 698. [t] Argum. in 1 ad Tim. vol. xi. p. 547.
[u] Tit. i. 5. [x] Hom. ii. in Tit. s. 1. vol. xi. p. 737. vid. etiam Theoph. et Oecum. in loc.

Corinth, but he choosing rather to go for Crete, by him and Zenas he wrote an epistle to Titus, to stir him up to be active and vigilant, and to teach him how to behave himself in that station wherein he had set him. And indeed he had need of all the counsels which St. Paul could give him, who had so loose and untoward a generation of men to deal with. For the country itself was not more fruitful and plenteous than the manners of the people were debauched and vicious. St. Paul[y] puts Titus in mind what a bad character one of their own poets (who certainly knew them best) had given of them:

Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί.

"The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies." This verse St. Chrysostom[z] supposes the apostle took from Callimachus, who makes use indeed of the first part of it, charging the Cretans to be like themselves, notorious liars, in pretending that Jupiter was not only born, but died among them, and that they had his tomb with this inscription, *ΈΝΤΑΘΑ ΖΑΝ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ*, "Here lies Jupiter," whenas the deity is immortal: whereupon the good father perplexes himself with many needless difficulties in reconciling it. Whereas in truth St. Paul borrowed it not from Callimachus, but Epimenides, a native of Crete, famous among the ancients for his raptures and enthusiastic divinations, *Θεοφιλὴς καὶ σοφὸς περὶ τὰ θεῖα, τὴν ἐνθουσιαστικὴν καὶ τελεστικὴν σοφίαν*, as Plutarch says of him.[a] From him Callimachus[b] cites part of the verse, and applies it to his particular purpose, while St. Paul quotes it entire from the author himself. "This witness (says he) is true." And indeed that herein he did not belie them, we have the concurrent testimonies of most heathen writers, who charge the same things upon them. So famous for lying, that *Κρητίζειν*[c] and *Κρητίζειν πρὸς Κρῆτα* became proverbial "to lie like a Cretan," and "to cozen a cheat," and nothing more obvious than *mendax Creta*. Polybius[d] tells us of them, that nowhere could be found more subtle and deceitful wits, and generally more wicked and pernicious counsels; that their manners were so very sordid

[y] Tit. i. 12.
[z] Hom. iii. in Tit. s. 1. vol. xi. p. 744.
[a] In vit. Solon. vol. i. p. 84.
[b] Callim. Hymn. *εἰς τὸν Δία*, p. 1.
[c] Suid. in voc. *Κρητίζειν*. Mich. Apostol. in eod. verb. Psell. de operat. Dæmon.
[d] Hist. l. vi. p. 489.

and covetous, that of all men in the world the Cretans were the only persons who accounted nothing base or dishonest, that was but gainful and advantageous. Besides, they were idle and impatient of labour, gluttonous and intemperate, unwilling to take any pains farther than to "make provision for the flesh;" as the natural effect of ease, idleness, and plenty, they were wanton and lascivious, and prone to the vilest and basest sort of lust, περὶ τὰ παιδικὰ δαιμονίως ἐπτόηνται, (as Athenæus[e] informs us,) outragiously mad upon that sin that peculiarly derives its name from Sodom. And such being the case, what wonder if St. Paul bids Titus "rebuke them sharply,"[f] seeing their corrupt and depraved manners would admit of the sharpest lancets, and the most stinging corrosives he could apply to them.

VII. In the epistle itself, the main body of it consists of rules and directions for the several ranks and relations of men: and because spiritual and ecclesiastical affairs are of all others most considerable, he first instructs him in the qualifications of those whom he should set apart to be bishops, and guides of souls, that they be holy and harmless, innocent and inoffensive, such as had not divorced and put away their first wife that they might marry a second, whose children were sober and regular, and trained up in the Christian faith; that they be easy and tractable, meek and unpassionate, free from the love of wine, and a desire after riches by sordid and covetous designs; that they be kind and hospitable, lovers of goodness and good men, modest and prudent, just and honest, strict and temperate, firm and constant in owning and asserting the doctrines of Christianity that have been delivered to them, that being thoroughly furnished with this pure evangelical doctrine, they may be able both to persuade and comfort others, and mightily to convince those that resist and oppose the truth. And certainly it was not without great reason, that the apostle required that the guides and governors of the church should be thus able to "convince gainsayers." For whatever authors report of Crete, that it bred no serpents or venomous creatures, yet certain it is that the poison of error and heresy had insinuated itself there together with the entertainment of Christianity, there being "many unruly and vain talkers, especially they of the circumcision,"[g] who endeavoured to corrupt the doctrine of the gospel with Jewish

[e] Deipnosoph. l. xiii. p. 601. [f] Tit. i. 13. [g] Tit. i. 10.

fables,[h] groundless and unwarrantable traditions, mystical and cabalistic explications, and "foolish questions and genealogies.[i] For the Jews, borrowing their notions herein from the schools of Plato, were fallen into a vein of deriving things from an imaginary generation; first *binah* or understanding: then *achmoth* or *cochmah*, wisdom; and so till they came to *milcah*, the kingdom, and *Shekinah*, or the Divine Presence. Much after the same rate as the poets of old deduced the pedigrees of their gods, they had first their several συζυγίαι, their *conjunctions*, the coupling and mixing of things together, and thence proceeded their γενεαλογίαι, their *genealogies* or *generations*: out of *Chaos* came *Erebus* and *the dark night*, the conjunction of whom begat *Æther* and the *day*; and thence Hesiod[k] proceeds to explain the whole pagan theology concerning the original of their gods.

VIII. In imitation of all which, and from a mixture of all together, the Valentinians, Basilidians, and the rest of the Gnostic crew, formed the senseless and unintelligible schemes of their πλήρωμα and thirty *æons*, divided into three classes of conjunction: in the first were four couples, *profundity* and *silence*, *mind* and *truth*, the *word* and *life*, *man* and *the church*; in the second five, viz. *profound* and *mixture*, *ageratus* and *union*, &c.; in the third six, the *paraclete* and *faith*, *patricos* and *hope*, &c. Of all which, if any desire to know more, they may (if they can understand it) find enough in Irenæus, Tertullian, and Epiphanius, to this purpose. [l]The last of whom not only affirms expressly that Valentinus and his party introduced ἐθνόμυθον ποίησιν, the fabulous and poetic fancies of the heathens, but draws a particular parallel between Hesiod's Theogonia, and their thirty *æons*, or ages, consisting of fifteen couples or conjugations, male and female, which he shews exactly to agree both in the number, design, and order of them. For instance, Valentinus's tribe begins thus:

Ampsin, Auraan	that is	Profundity, Silence.		Ubucua, Thardeadie	that is	Word, Life.	
Bucua, Tharthun	that is	Mind, Truth.		Merexa, Atarbarba. &c.	that is	Man, Church. &c.	

All which was nothing but a trifling and fantastical imitation of Hesiod's progeny and generation of the gods, which being joined

[h] Tit. i. 14. [i] Tit. iii. 9. [k] Hesiod. Theogon. 124.
[l] Hæres. xxxi. c. 2, 3. vid. Tertull. de Præscript. Hæret. c. 7.

in conjugations succeeded in this order; Chaos, Night; Erebus, Earth; Æther, Day, &c.; there being (as he observes) no difference between the one scheme and the other, but only the change and alteration of the names.[n] This may suffice for a specimen to shew whence this idle generation borrowed their extravagant conceits, though there were that had set much-what the like on foot before the time of Valentinus. By such dark and wild notions and principles, the false apostles, both in Crete and elsewhere, sought to undermine the Christian doctrine, mixing it also with principles of great looseness and liberty, that they might the easilier insinuate themselves into the affections of men, whereby they brought over numerous proselytes to their party, of whom "they made merchandise,"[o] gaining sufficient advantage to themselves. So that it was absolutely necessary that these men's mouths should be stopped, and that they should not be suffered to go on under a show of such lofty and sublime speculations, and a pretence of Christian liberty, to pervert men from the Christian religion, and the plainness and simplicity of the gospel. Having done with ecclesiastics, he proceeds to give directions for persons of all ages and capacities, whether old or young, men or women, children or servants; and then of more public concernment, rulers and people, and indeed how to deport ourselves in the general carriage of our lives. In the close of the epistle he wishes him to furnish Zenas and Apollos, the two apostolical messengers by whom this letter was conveyed to him, with all things necessary for their return; commanding that he himself, with all convenient speed, should meet him at Nicopolis, (though where that was is not certain; whether Nicopolis in Epirus, so called from Augustus's victory there over Antony and Cleopatra; or rather Nicopolis in Thrace, upon the river Nesus, not far from the borders of Macedonia, whither St. Paul was now going; or some other city, whereof many in those parts of that name,) where he had resolved to spend his winter. And that by withdrawing so useful and vigilant a shepherd he might not seem to expose his flock to the fury and the rage of the wolves, he promises to send Artemas or Tychicus to supply his place during his absence from them.

IX. St. Paul departing from Ephesus was come to Troas, where though he had a fair opportunity to preach the gospel

[n] Epiphan. Hæres. xxxi. c. 2, 3. [o] Tit. i. 11.

offered to him, yet (as himself tells us) he "had no rest in his spirit, because he found not Titus his brother,"[p] whom he impatiently expected to bring him an account of the state of the church of Corinth; whether Titus had been with him, and been sent upon this errand, or had been commanded by him to take Corinth in his way from Crete, is not known. Not meeting him here, away he goes for Macedonia,[q] where at length Titus arrived, and comforted him under all his other sorrows and difficulties, with the joyful news of the happy condition of the church of Corinth, and how readily they had reformed those miscarriages, which in his former epistle he had charged upon them, fully making good that great character which he had given of them to Titus, and whereof they gave no inconsiderable evidence in that kind and welcome entertainment which Titus found amongst them. Soon after, St. Paul, having received the collections of the Macedonian churches for the indigent Christians at Jerusalem, sent back Titus,[r] and with him St. Luke, to Corinth, to excite their charity, and prepare their contributions against his own arrival there, and by them he wrote his second epistle to that church.

X. Titus faithfully discharged his errand to the church of Corinth; and having despatched the services for which he was sent, returned, we may suppose, back to Crete. Nor do we hear any further news of him till St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, whither he came (if my author[s] say true) about two years after him, and continued with him till his martyrdom, whereat he was present, and together with St. Luke committed him to his grave. An account, which I confess I am the less inclined to believe, because assured by St. Paul himself, that before his death Titus had left him, and was gone into Dalmatia,[t] a province of Illyricum, to plant that fierce and warlike nation with the gospel of peace, taking it probably in his way in order to his return for Crete. And this is the last notice we find taken of him in the holy writings, nor do the records of the church henceforward furnish us with any certain memoirs or remarks concerning him. Indeed were the story which some tell us true, one thing alone were enough to make him memorable to posterity, I mean his converting Pliny the Younger, that

[p] 2 Cor. ii. 13. [q] 2 Cor. vii. 5—7. 13—15. [r] 2 Cor. viii. 6. 16. 18.
[s] Pet. de Natal. Hist. SS. lib. vii. c. 108. [t] 2 Tim. iv. 10.

learned and eloquent man, proconsul of Bithynia, and intimate privy-counsellor to Trajan the emperor. For so they tell us,[u] that returning from his province in Bithynia, he landed in Crete, where the emperor had commanded him to erect a temple to Jupiter; which was accordingly done, and no sooner finished, but St. Titus cursed it, and it immediately tumbled to the ground. The man, you may guess, was strangely troubled, and came with tears to the holy man, to request his counsel; who advised him to begin it in the name of the God of the Christians, and it would not fail to prosper. He did so, and having finished it, was himself, together with his son, baptized. Nay, some, to make the story perfect, add, that he suffered martyrdom for the faith at Novocomum, a city of Insubria in Italy, where he was born. The reader, I presume, will not expect I should take pains to confute this story, sufficiently improbable in itself, and which I behold as just of the same metal, and coined in the same mint, with that of his master Trajan's soul being delivered out of hell by the prayers of St. Gregory the Great, so gravely told, so seriously believed by many, not in the Greek church only, but in the church of Rome: nay, which the whole east and west, (if we may believe Damascen,[x]) held to be *γνήσιον καὶ ἀδιάβλητον*, true and uncontrollable.

XI. St. Titus lived, as the ancients tell us, to a great age, dying about the ninety-fourth year of his life. He died in peace, (say Sophronius[y] and Isidore[z],) and lies buried in Crete: the Roman Martyrology[a] adds, that he was buried in that very church, wherein St. Paul ordained him bishop of that island. I understand him, where a church was afterwards built, it not being likely there should be any at that time. At Candia, the metropolis of the island, there is, or lately was, an ancient and beautiful church, dedicated to St. Titus;[b] wherein, under the high altar, his remains are said to be honourably laid up, and are both by the Greeks and Latins held in great veneration. Though what is become of them since that famous city lately fell into the hands of the Turk, that great scourge of Christendom, is to me unknown. His festival is celebrated in

[u] Pet. de Natal. loc. cit. ex Act. S. Titi à Zena (uti fertur) script. Fl. Pseudo-Dext. Chron. ad Ann. 220.

[x] Damascen. Serm. *περὶ τῶν ἐν πιστ. κεκοιμ.* [y] Ap. Hieron. de Script. in Tito.

[z] De vit. et ob. c. 87. [a] Ad diem 4. Jan. [b] Cotovic. Itin. l. i. c. 12.

the Western church on the fourth day of January, in the Greek church August the twenty-fifth, and among the Christians in Egypt (as appears by the Arabic calendar published by Mr. Selden)[c] the twenty-second of the month Barmahath, answering to our March the eighteenth, is consecrated to his memory.

[c] De Synedr. vol. iii. c. 15.

THE LIFE OF SAINT DIONYSIUS

THE AREOPAGITE.

Dionysius born at Athens. The quality of his parents. His domestic studies. His foreign travels. Egypt frequented as the staple place of all recondite learning. His residence at Heliopolis. The strange and miraculous eclipse at our Saviour's Passion. Dionysius's remarks upon it. His return to Athens, and being made one of the judges of the Areopagus. The nature of this court: the number and quality of its judges. St. Paul arraigned before it: his discourse, and its success. Dionysius's conversion. His further instruction by Hierotheus. Hierotheus, who. Dionysius constituted bishop of Athens. A brief account of his story, according to those that confound him with Dionysius bishop of Paris. These shewn to be distinct. The original and procedure of the mistake inquired into. A probable account given of it. Dionysius's martyrdom at Athens, and the time of it. A fabulous miracle reported of his scull. The description of his person, and the hyperbolical commendations which the Greeks give of him. The books ascribed to him. These none of his. Apollinaris (probably) shewed to be the author of them. Several passages of the ancients noted to that purpose. Books, why oft published under other men's names. These books the fountain of enthusiasm and mystical theology. A passage in them instanced in to that purpose.

I. Saint Dionysius was born at Athens, the eye of Greece, and fountain of learning and humanity, the only place that without competition had for so many ages maintained an uncontrolled reputation for arts and sciences, and to which there was an universal confluence of persons from all parts of the world to accomplish themselves in the more polite and useful studies. Though we find nothing particularly concerning his parents, yet we may safely conclude them to have been persons of a noble quality, at least of a better rank than ordinary, seeing none were admitted to be Areopagite judges, (as one who knew very well informs us,[a]) *Πλὴν οἱ καλῶς γεγονότες, καὶ πολλὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἐνδεδειγμένοι,* unless they were nobly born, and eminently exemplary for a virtuous and a sober life. Being

[a] Isocr. Orat. Areopag. c. 14. Vid. Maxim. Prolog. opp. S. Dionys. Pref. p. 34.

born in the very midst of arts and civility, his education could not but be learned and ingenuous, especially considering the advantages of his birth and fortunes. Accordingly, he was instructed in all the learned sciences of Greece,[b] wherein he made such vast improvements, that he easily outstripped any of his time; scarce any sect or institution in philosophy then in vogue, which he had not considered and made trial of: it does not indeed appear to which of them he particularly devoted and applied himself; and they who suppose him to have addicted himself to the school of Plato, do it, I conceive, for no other reason, than because the doctrine contained in the books that bear his name, seems so near of kin to the principles of that noble sect.

II. But it was not an homebred institution, or all the advantages which Athens could afford, that could fill the vast capacities of his mind, which he therefore resolved to polish and improve by foreign travels. Being in the prime and vigour of his youth, about the age of twenty-five years,[c] he took with him one Apollophanes, a rhetorician, his fellow-student, and (if Syncellus say true[d]) his kinsman, who was afterwards at Smyrna, master to Polemon the Laodicean, as he was to Aristides the famous philosopher and apologist for the Christians. Thus furnished with a suitable companion, he is said to have gone for Egypt, to converse with their philosophers and wise men, that he might perfect himself in the study of the mathematics, and the more mysterious and recondite parts of learning. Egypt had in all ages been looked upon as the prime school, not only of astrology, but of the more abstruse and uncommon speculations of theology; and the great masters of wisdom and divinity among the Gentiles never thought they had gained enough, till they had crowned their studies by conversing with the Egyptian sages. Hence it was frequented by Orpheus, Homer, Solon, Thales, by Pythagoras and Plato, and whom not? nay, of Pythagoras, Clemens of Alexandria reports,[e] that he suffered himself to be circumcised, that so he might be admitted *εἰς τὰ ἄδυτα*, to the concealed rites and notions of their religion, and be acquainted with their secret and mystical philosophy. The place he fixed at was Heliopolis, a city between Coptus and Alexandria, where

[b] Suid. in voc. *Διονύσιος*.

[c] Suid. ubi supra. Maxim. Pachym. Syncel. aliique plures.

[d] Encom. S. Dionys. vol. ii. p. 213. opp. Dionys.

[e] Stromat. l. i. c. 15.

the Egyptian priests for the most resided, as a place admirably advantageous for the contemplation of the heavenly bodies, and the study of philosophy and astronomy; and where Strabo[f] (who lived much about this time) tells us, he was shewed the habitations of the priests, and the apartments of Plato and Eudoxus, who lived here thirteen years; nay, a very ancient historian assures us,[g] that Abraham himself lived here, and taught the Egyptian priests astronomy, and other parts of learning.

III. Dionysius no doubt plied his studies in this place, during whose stay there, one memorable accident is reported. The Son of God about this time was delivered up at Jerusalem to an acute and shameful death by the hands of violence and injustice; when the sun, as if ashamed to behold so great a wickedness, hid his head, and put on mourning to wait upon the funerals of its Maker. This eclipse was contrary to all the known rules and laws of nature, it happening in a full moon, when the moon is in its greatest distance from the sun, and consequently not liable to a conjunction with him, the moon moving itself under the sun from its Oriental to its Occidental point, and thence back by a retrograde motion, causing a strange defection of light for three hours together. That there was such a wonderful and preternatural "darkness over all the earth" for three hours, at the time of our Saviour's suffering, whereby the sun was darkened, is unanimously attested by the evangelical historians; and not by them only, but Phlegon Trallianus,[h] sometime servant to the emperor Trajan, speaks of an eclipse of the sun that happened about that time, *Μεγίστη τῶν ἐγνωρισμένων πρότερον*, the greatest of any that had been ever known, whereby the day was turned into night, and the stars appeared at noon-day, an earthquake also accompanying it, whereby many houses at Nice in Bithynia were overturned. Apollophanes, beholding this strange eclipse, cried out to Dionysius, that these were changes and revolutions of some great affairs; to whom the other replied, that "either God suffered, or at least sympathized and bore part with

[f] Geogr. l. xvii. p. 1159.

[g] Alexand. Polyhist. Hist. de Judæis ap. Euseb. præp. Evang. l. ix. c. 17.

[h] Chronic. lib. xiii. apud Euseb. Chron. ad Ann. Chr. xxxii. vid. Græca ΕΤ. ΑΓ. p. 202. vid. Orig. contr. Cels. l. ii. c. 33. et Chron. Alexandr. ad Ann. Tiber. xvii. Indict. 4. Olympiad. 202. 4.

him that did." I confess these passages are not to be found in the most ancient writers of the church: but that ought to be no just exception, when we consider what little care was then taken to consign things to writing, and how great a part of those few ancient records that were written were quickly lost, whereof Eusebius sufficiently complains; not to say, that a great many writings might and did escape his notice; and Maximus,[i] I remember, answering the objection, that the books ascribed to St. Denys are not mentioned by Eusebius, tells us, that himself had met with several pieces of the ancients, of which not the least footstep in Eusebius. But however that be, it concludes not against the matter of fact; many things, though never entered upon record, being as to the substance of them preserved by constant tradition and report. I deny not but that the several authors who report this passage, might immediately derive it out of the epistles said to be written to St. Polycarp and Apollophanes; but then cannot suppose that the author of these epistles did purely feign the matter of fact of his own head, but rather delivered what tradition had conveyed down to his time. Indeed that which would more shrewdly shake the foundation of the story, if it be true, is what Origen supposes,[k] that this "darkness that was over all the earth," and the earthquake that attended our Lord's Passion, extended no farther than Judea, as some of the prodigies no farther than Jerusalem. But to what degrees of truth or probability that opinion may approve itself, I leave to others to inquire.

IV. Dionysius, having finished his studies at Heliopolis, returned to Athens, incomparably fitted to serve his country, and accordingly was advanced to be one of the judges of the Areopagus, a place of great honour and renown. The Areopagus was a famous senate-house built upon a hill in Athens, wherein assembled their great court of justice, *τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι δικαστηρίων τιμιώτατον καὶ ἁγιώτατον*, as one calls it,[l] "the most sacred and venerable tribunal in all Greece." Under their cognizance came all the greater and more capital causes; and especially matters of religion, blasphemy against the gods, and contempt of the holy mysteries; and therefore St. Paul[m] was arraigned before this court, as a "setter forth of strange gods,

[i] Prolog. ante oper. S. Dionys. p. 36.
[k] Tract. xxxv. in Matt. c. 134.
[l] Aristid. vol. i. p. 190.
[m] Acts xvii. 18, 19.

when he preached to them concerning Jesus and Anastasis, or the *resurrection*." None might be of this council but persons of birth and quality, wise and prudent men, and of very strict and severe manners; and so great an awe and reverence did this solemn and grave assembly strike into those that sat in it, that Isocrates tells us,[n] that in his time, when they were somewhat degenerated from their ancient virtue, however otherwise men were irregular and exorbitant, yet once chosen into this senate, they presently ceased from their vicious inclinations, and chose rather to conform to the laws and manners of that court, ἢ ταῖς αὐτῶν κακίαις ἐμμένειν, than to continue in their wild and debauched course of life. They were exactly upright and impartial in their proceedings, and heard causes at night, or in the dark, that the person of the plaintiff or the pleader might have no undue influence upon them. Their sentence was decretory and final, and from their determination lay no appeal. Their number was uncertain; by some restrained to nine, by others enlarged to thirty-one, by others to fifty-one, and to more by some. Indeed the *novemviri*, who were the basileus, or king, the archon, the polemarchus, and the six thesmothetæ, were the constant seminary and nursery of this great assembly, who having discharged their several offices, annually passed into the Areopagus; and therefore when Socrates was condemned by this court,[o] we find no less than two hundred fourscore and one giving their votes against him, besides those whose *white stones* were for his absolution: and in an ancient inscription upon a column in the acropolis at Athens,[p] erected to the memory of Rufus Festus, proconsul of Greece, and one of these judges, mention is made of the "Areopagite senate of three hundred."

V. In this grave and venerable judicature sat our St. Denys, when St. Paul, about the year 49 or 50, came to Athens, where he resolutely asserted the cause of Christianity against the attempts of the Stoic and Epicurean philosophers, who mainly appeared against it. The Athenians, who were infinitely curious and superstitious in matters of religion, not knowing what to make of this new and strange doctrine that he taught, presently brought him before the Areopagite senate, to whom the proper cognizance of such causes did belong. Here, in a neat and

[n] Orat. Areopag. c. 15.
[o] Diog. Laert. l. ii. in vit. Socrat. s. 41.
[p] Volaterran. comm. Urban. l. viii. ad fin.

eloquent discourse, delivered not with greater freedom of mind than strength of reason, he plainly demonstrated the folly and absurdity of those many vain deities, whom they blindly worshipped; explained to them that infinite Being that made and governed the world, and what indispensable obligations he had laid upon all mankind to worship and adore him; and how much he had enforced all former engagements to gratitude and obedience, to repentance and reformation by this last and best dispensation, by sending his Son to publish so excellent a religion to the world. His discourse, however entertained by some with scorn and laughter, and gravely put off by others, yet wanted not a happy influence upon many, whom it convinced of the reasonableness and divinity of the Christian faith: among whom was our Dionysius, one of the judges that sat upon him and Damaris his wife (for so St. Chrysostom[q] and others make her) and probably his whole house. An author[r] (I confess I know not by what authority) relates a particular dispute between Dionysius and St. Paul concerning the unknown God, who as God-man was to appear in the latter ages to reform the world; this the apostle shewed to be the holy Jesus, lately come down from heaven, and so satisfied St. Denys, that he prayed him to intercede with heaven, that he might be fully confirmed in this belief. The next day St. Paul having restored sight to one that was born blind, charged him to go to Dionysius, and by that token claim his promise to be his convert; who being amazed at this sight, readily renounced his idolatry, and was with his house baptized into the faith of Christ. But I know the credit of my author too well to lay any great stress upon this relation, and the rather because I find that Baronius himself is not willing to venture his faith upon it: to which I might add St. Chrysostom's observations,[s] that the Areopagite was converted *ἀπὸ δημηγορίας μόνης*, only by St. Paul's discourse, there being no miracle that we know of that might promote and further it.

VI. Being baptized, he was, we are told,[t] committed to the care and tutorage of St. Hierotheus, to be by him further in-

[q] De Sacerdot. l. iv. c. 7. vol. i. p. 412. Ambros. Ep. lxiii. s. 22.

[r] Hild. in passio. S. Dionys. n. 6, 7, 8. ap. Sur. Octob. ix.

[s] De Sacerdot. l. iv. c. 7. vol. i. p. 412.

[t] S. Metaphr. ap. Sur. ut supra. Maxim. Syncel. Encom. S. Dionys. vol. ii. p. 213. opp. Dionys. Pseudo-Dionys. de divin. nomin. c. ii.

structed in the faith, a person not so much as mentioned by any of the ancients; which creates with me a vehement suspicion, that it is only a feigned name, and that no such person ever really was in the world. Indeed the Greek Menæon[u] makes him to have been one of the nine senators of the Areopagus, to have been converted by St. Paul, and by him made bishop of Athens, and then appointed tutor to St. Denys. Others[x] make him by birth a Spaniard, first bishop of Athens, and then travelling into his own country, bishop of Segovia in Spain. And both I believe with equal truth. Nor probably had such a person ever been thought of, had there not been some intimations of such an instructor in Dionysius's works, confirmed by the scholiasts that writ upon him, and afterwards by others improved into a formal story. As for St. Dionysius, he is made to travel with St. Paul for three years after his conversion, and then to have been constituted by him bishop of Athens; so that it was necessary it seems to pack Hierotheus into Spain, that room might be made for him. Indeed that Dionysius was, and that without any affront to St. Hierotheus, the first bishop of Athens, we are assured by an authority that cannot be doubted. Dionysius[y] the famous bishop of Corinth (who lived not long after him) expressly affirming it; and Nicephorus[z] adds, what is probable enough, that it was done with St. Paul's own hands. I shall but mention his journey to Jerusalem to meet the apostles, who are said to have come from all parts of the world to be present at the last hours of the Blessed Virgin, and his several visitations of the churches in Phrygia and Achaia, to plant or confirm the faith.

VII. All which, supposing they were true, yet here we must take our leave. For now the writers of his life generally make him prepare for a much longer journey. Having settled his affairs at Athens, and substituted a successor in his see, he is said to go to Rome, (a brief account of things shall suffice, where no truth lies at the bottom:) at Rome he was despatched by St. Clemens into France, where he planted the faith, and founded an episcopal see at Paris; whence after many years, about the ninetieth year of his age, he returned into the East, to converse with St. John at Ephesus; thence back again to

[u] Τῇ δ' τοῦ Φεβρναρ. [x] Pseudo-Dext. Chron. ad Ann. Chr. lxxi.
[y] Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 4. et l. iv. c. 23. [z] Niceph. Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 20.

Paris, where he suffered martyrdom; and among infinite other miracles reported of him, he is said to have taken up his head, after it had been cut off by the executioners, and to have carried it in his hands (an angel going before, and an heavenly chorus attending him all the way) for two miles together, till he came to the place of his interment, where he gently laid it and himself down, and was there honourably entombed. This is the sum of a very tedious story: a story so improbable in itself, so directly contrary to what Severus Sulpitius[a] affirms, that none were martyred for the faith in France, till the fifth persecution under the reign of M. Aurelius Antoninus, that I shall not spend much time in its confutation; especially when the thing has been unanswerably done by so many learned and ingenious men in the church of Rome, and by none more effectually than Sirmond and Launoy, who have cleared it beyond all possibilities of just exception.

VIII. Indeed we find in several very ancient martyrologies,[b] as also in Gregory[c] bishop of Tours, who reports it out of the Acts of Saturninus the martyr, that one Dionysius with some others was sent by the bishop of Rome into France in the time of Decius the emperor, Ann. Chr. 250, where he preached the Christian faith, and became bishop of Paris, and after great torments and sufferings, was beheaded for his resolute and constant profession of religion; and accordingly his martyrdom is recorded in the most ancient martyrologies, upon a day distinct from that of the Athenian Dionysius, and the same miracles ascribed to him that are reported of the other. And that this was the first and true foundation of the story, I suppose no wise man will doubt. Nor indeed is the least mention made of any such thing, I am sure not in any writer of name and note, till the times of Charles the Great; when Ludovicus,[d] emperor and king of France, wrote to Hilduin, abbot of St. Denys, to pick up whatever memoirs he could find concerning him, either in the books of the Greeks or Latins, or such records as they had at home, and to digest and compile them into orderly tracts. He did so, and furnished out a very large and particular relation,

[a] Sacr. Hist. l. ii. c. 32.

[b] Usuard. Martyr. Calend. Octob. et vii. Id. Octob. Marty. Bedæ vii. Id. Octob.

[c] Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. i. c. 28.

[d] Vid. Epist. ejus, et Hilduin. Rescript. apud Sur. loc. supra citat.

which was quickly improved and defended by Hincmar, bishop of Rheims, scholar to Hilduin, and Anastasius Bibliothecarius of Rome, to whom the Greek writers of that and the following ages readily gave their vote and suffrage. Nor has a late author[e] much mended the matter in point of antiquity, who tells us, that in a convention of bishops in France, held anno 825, ten years before Hilduin wrote his Areopagitics, mention is made of St. Dionysius's being sent into France by Clemens, St. Peter's successor. For we can easily allow that there might about that time be some blind and obscure tradition, though the fragment of the synod, which he there produces, speaks not one syllable of this Dionysius's being the Areopagite, or having any relation to Athens. In short, the case seems plainly this:

IX. Hilduin, set on by his potent patron, partly that he might exalt the honour of France, partly to advance the reputation of his particular convent, finding an obscure Dionysius to have been bishop of Paris, removes him an age or two higher, and makes him the same with him of Athens, a person of greater honour and veneration; and partly from the records, partly from the traditions current among themselves, draws up a formal account of him from first to last; adding, it is like, what he thought good of his own, to make up the story. These commentaries of his, we may suppose, were quickly conveyed to Rome, where being met with by the Greeks, who came upon frequent embassies to that see about that time, they were carried over to Constantinople, out of which Methodius (who had himself been *aprocrisiarius* or ambassador from Nicephorus the Greek patriarch to pope Paschal at Rome, and after infinite troubles was advanced to the patriarchate of Constantinople) furnishes himself with materials to write the life of Dionysius: for that he had them not out of the records of his own church is plain, in that when Hilduin set upon composing his Areopagitics, he expressly says,[f] that the Greeks had written nothing concerning the martyrdom of St. Denys, the particulars whereof, by reason of the vast distance, they could not attain. Out of Hilduin therefore, or at least some reports of that time, Methodius must needs derive his intelligence; but most probably from Hilduin, between whose relation and that of Methodius

[e] J. Mabillon. not. ad Epist. Hincmar. inter Analect. vett.

[f] Rescript. ad Ludov. Imper. n. 10. ibid.

there is so exact an agreement, not only in particular passages, but oft-times in the very same words, as Monsieur Launoy[g] has demonstrated by a particular collation. Methodius's tract was by the Greek ambassadors quickly brought from Constantinople to Rome, where Anastasius[h] confesses he met with it, translated it into Latin, and thence transmitted it into France, where it was read, owned, and published by Hincmar,[i] as appears by his epistle to Charles the emperor; where he plainly tells us, that no sooner had he read this life written by Methodius, but he found it admirably to agree with what he had read in his youth, (he means, I doubt not, the writings of Hilduin,) by whom and how the Acts of St. Denys and his companions came to the knowledge of the Romans, and thence to the notice of the Greeks. This is the most likely pedigree and procedure of the story that I can think of; and from hence how easy was it for the after-writers both of the Western and the Eastern church to swallow down a story, thus plausibly fitted to their taste? Nor had the Greeks any reason over-nicely to examine or reject what made so much for the honour of their church and nation, and seemed to lay not France only, but the whole Western church under an obligation to them, for furnishing them with so great and excellent a person. But to return to our Dionysius.

X. Though we cannot doubt but that he behaved himself with all diligence and fidelity in the discharge of his office; yet because the ancients have conveyed down no particulars to our hands, we shall not venture upon reports of false, or at best doubtful credit. Nothing of certainty can be recovered of him, more than what Aristides, the Christian philosopher (who himself lived, and was probably born at Athens, not long after Dionysius) relates in the Apology[k] which he published for the Christian religion, that after a most resolute and eminent confession of the faith, after having undergone several of the severest kinds of torment, he gave the last and great testimony to it, by laying down his life. This was done, as is most probable, under the reign of Domitian, as is confessed, (betrayed into it by a secret instinct of truth,) by abbot Hilduin, Methodius, and their followers: while others extend it to the times of Trajan, others

[g] Respons. discuss. c. 9. [h] Epist. ad Carol. Calv. Imp. apud Sur. ut supra.
[i] Extat apud Sur. ubi supr. et Mabillon. loc. citat.
[k] Apud Usuard. et Adon. Mart. v. Non. Octobr.

to the reign of Adrian, who entered upon the empire anno 117, partly that they might leave room enough for the account which they give of him, partly to preserve the authority of his writings, wherein a passage is cited out of Ignatius's epistles, written just before his martyrdom, anno 107. The reader I hope will not expect from me an account of the miracles said to be done by him, either before or since his death, or of the fierce contests that are between several places in the Roman church concerning his reliques. One passage however I shall not omit. In a village in Luxemburg, not far from Treves, is a church dedicated to St. Denys, wherein is kept his scull, at least a piece of it, on the crown whereof there is a white cross, while the other parts of the scull are black. This common tradition, and some authors to avouch it,[1] will have to be made, when St. Paul laid his hands upon him at his consecration: which if so, I have no more to observe, but that *orders* (which the church of Rome make a sacrament) did here even in a literal sense confer an indelible character and mark upon him.

XI. His *τύπος σωματικὸς*, the shape and figure of his body, is by the Greek Menæon [m] thus described: he was of a middle stature, slender, fair, but inclining to paleness, his nose gracefully bending, hollow-eyed with short eye-brows, his ear large, his hair thick and white, his beard moderately long, but very thin. For the image of his mind expressed in his discourses, and the excellent conduct of his life, the Greeks, according to their magnifying humour as well as language, bestow most hyperbolical eulogies and commendations on him. They style him, *ἱεροφάντορα, καὶ τῶν ἀποῤῥήτων θεωρὸν*, the sacred interpreter and contemplator of hidden and unspeakable mysteries, and an unsearchable depth of heavenly knowledge; *τριαδικὸν θεόλογον, τῶν ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν ζωοποιῶν χαρισμάτων θεοφόρον ὄργανον*, the Trinity-Divine, the divine instrument of those enlivening graces that are above all comprehension. They say of him, that his life was wonderful, his discourse more wonderful; his tongue full of light, his mouth breathing an holy fire; but his mind *ἀκριβῶς θεοειδέστατος*, most exactly like to God; with a great deal more of the like nature up and down their offices. And certainly, were the notions which he has given us of the celestial

[1] Vid. Author. citat. ap. P. Halloix. not. ad vit. Dionys. c. iv. vol. ii. p. 281.

[m] Τῇ γ' τοῦ Ὀκτοβρ.

hierarchy and orders of angels, and the things of that supra-mundane state, as clear and certain as some would persuade us, he might deserve that title which others give him, *πτερύγιον ἢ πετεινὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*,[n] "the wing, or the bird of heaven."

XII. The great and evident demonstration of his wisdom and eloquence, we are told,[o] are the works which he left behind him; the notions and language wherewith they are clothed, being so lofty and sublime, as are scarcely capable to be the issue of a mere mortal creature. Books infinitely intricate and perplexed, (as our countryman Johannes Scotus,[p] who first translated them into Latin, tells us,) far beyond the reach of modern apprehensions, and which few are able to pierce into, both for their antiquity, and sublimeness of those heavenly mysteries whereof they treat: a work so grateful to all speculative inquirers into the natures of things, and the more abstruse and recondite parts of learning, that (if Suidas say true) some of the heathen philosophers, and particularly Proclus, often borrows, not only his notions, but his very words and phrases from him; whence he suspects, that some of the philosophers at Athens stole those books of his mentioned in the epistle dedicatory to St. Timothy, and which now are wanting, and published them under their own names. But had I been to make the conjecture, I should rather have suspected that this Pseudo-Dionysius fetched his speculations, and good part of his expressions, from Plotinus, Iamblichus, and the rest of the later Platonists. For certainly one egg is not more like another, than this man's divinity is like the theology of that school, especially as explained by the philosophers who lived in the first ages of Christianity. That our Dionysius was not the author of the books at this day extant under his name, I shall not concern myself to shew. For however it be contended for by many with all imaginable zeal and stiffness, yet want there not those, and men of note, even in the Roman communion, who clearly disown and deny it; as among the reformed it has been largely disproved by many, and by none with greater learning and industry than Monsieur Daille, who has said whatever is necessary, if not more than enough

[n] Vid. Anastas. Bibl. Epist. ap. Sur. loco supra citato. Chrysost. de Pseudo-Proph. s. 6. vol. viii. p. 79. inter spuria.

[o] Suid. in voce *Διονύσιος*. Niceph. Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 20.

[p] Epist. ad Carol. Calv. Franc. Reg. ap. Usser. Epist. Hibern. xxiii. p. 59.

upon this argument: though as to the date of their birth and first appearance, when he thrusts them down to the sixth century, he takes somewhat off from the antiquity, which may with probability be allowed them.

XIII. Who was the particular author of these books, is not easy to determine. Among the several conjectures about this matter, none methinks deserves a fairer regard, than what Laurentius Valla tells us[q] some learned Greeks of his time conceived, that it was Apollinaris, but whether father or son it matters not, both being men of parts, and of the same strain and humour, *ἀμφότεροι Ἑλληνικῶν λόγων διδάσκαλοι*,[r] both of them masters in all the learning of the Greeks, though of the two the son was most likely to be the man. Certain it is, that Apollinaris was *πρὸς παντοδαπὴν εἴδησιν, καὶ λόγων ἰδέαν παρεσκευασμένος*, as Sozomen describes him,[s] trained up to all sorts of learning, and skilled in the artifices and frames of words and speeches; and St. Basil says of him,[t] that being endued with a facility of writing upon any argument, joined with a great readiness and volubility of language, he filled the world with his books: though even in his theological tracts he sought not to establish them by scripture proofs, but from human arguments and ways of reasoning: *διϊσχυρίζετο δὲ τὸ δόγμα αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἀπὸ ῥητοῦ τινος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ περινοίας*, as another also says of him.[u] He was born and bred at Alexandria, (than which no place more famous for schools of human learning, especially the profession of the Platonic philosophy,) and afterwards lived at Laodicea, where he was so intimately familiar with the Gentile philosophers, that Theodotus bishop of the place forbad him (though in vain) any longer to keep company with them, fearing lest he might be perverted to paganism; as afterwards George, his successor, excommunicated him for his insolent contempt in not doing it. This is said to have given the first occasion to his starting aside from the orthodox doctrines of the church. For resenting it as an high affront, and being *τῇ εὐροίᾳ τοῦ σοφιστικοῦ λόγου θαῤῥῶν*,[x] prompted with a bold conceit of his sophistical wit, and subtle ways of reasoning, he began to innovate in

[q] Annot. in Act. Apost. c. xvii.
[r] Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 46.
[s] Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 18. Socr. loc. citat.
[t] Ep. cclxiii. [al. lxxiv.] a. 4. vol. iii. p. 406.
[u] Leont. de Sect. Act. iv.
[x] Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 46.

matters of doctrine, and set up a sect after his own name. And certainly whoever thoroughly considers Apollinaris's principles, as they are represented by Socrates,[y] Sozomen,[z] Theodoret,[a] Basil,[b] and Epiphanius,[c] will find many of them to have a great affinity with the Platonic notions, and some of them not un-akin to those in Dionysius's books; and that as to the doctrine of the Trinity, they were right in the main, which Socrates[d] particularly tells us, the Apollinarians confessed to be consubstantial. To which I add, what a learned man[e] of our own has observed upon this argument, that Apollinaris and his followers were guilty of forging ecclesiastical writings, which they fastened upon Gregory Thaumaturgus, Athanasius, and pope Julius, as Leontius[f] particularly proves at large. So that they might be probably enough forged in the school of Apollinaris, either by himself, or some of his disciples.

XIV. It makes the conjecture look yet more favourable, that there was one Dionysius,[g] a friend probably of Apollinaris, to whom he is said to have written that famous epistle that went under the name of pope Julius: and then among his own scholars he had a Timotheus, (condemned together with his master by Damasus[h] and the synod at Rome,) so that they might easily enough take occasion from their own to vent their conceptions under the more venerable names of those ancient and apostolic persons. Or, which is more probable, Apollinaris, himself so well versed in the arts of counterfeiting, might from them take the hint to compose and publish them under the name of the ancient Dionysius. Nor, indeed, could he likely pitch upon a name more favourable and agreeable to his purpose: a man born in the very centre of learning and eloquence, and who might easily be supposed to be bred up in all the institutions of philosophy, and in a peculiar manner acquainted with the writings and theorems of Plato and his followers, so famous, so generally entertained in that place. And there will be the more reason to believe it still, when we consider, that Apollinaris[i]

[y] Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 46. [z] Sozom. l. vi. c. 27. ex Ep. Nazian. de Nectar.
[a] Theodor. l. v. c. 3. [b] Basil. ubi supr. [c] Epiph. Hæres. lxxvii.
[d] Ibid. vid. Leont. loc. citat.
[e] Dr. Stillingfl. Answer to Cress. Apolog. c. 2. §. 17. [f] De Sect. Act. viii.
[g] Vid. Collat. Cathol. cum Severian. Conc. Harduin. vol. ii. p. 1163.
[h] Theod. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 9, 10. [i] Socrat. l. iii. c. 16.

reduced the gospels and the writings of the apostles into the form of dialogues, in imitation of Plato among the Greeks. And then for the style, which is very lofty and affected, we noted before how peculiarly qualified Apollinaris was with a quick invention of words, and a sophistical way of speech; and the historian observes,[k] that the great instrument by which he set on foot his heresy, and wherein he had a singular talent, was τέχνη λόγων, artificial schemes of words, and subtle ways to express himself. Besides he was an incomparable poet,[l] (not only the father, but the son,) to the study whereof he peculiarly addicted himself, and wrote poems to the imitation and the envy of the best among the heathens. In imitation of Homer he wrote heroic poems of the history of the Old Testament till the reign of Saul, comedies after the manner of Menander, tragedies in imitation of Euripides, and odes in imitation of Pindar: he composed divine hymns,[m] that were publicly sung in the churches of his separation, and songs which men sung both in their feasts and at their trades, and even women at the distaff. By this means he was admirably prepared for lofty and poetic strains, and might be easily tempted, especially the matter admitting it, to give way to a wanton and luxuriant fancy in the choice, composition, and use of words. And certainly never was there a stranger heap (λέξεων πολυπληθίαν, Maximus himself calls it) of sublime, affected, bombast, and poetic phrases, than is to be met with in these books attributed to St. Denys.

XV. If it shall be inquired, why a man should, after so much pains, choose to publish his labours rather under another man's name than his own? there needs no other answer, than that this has been an old trade, which some men have taken up, either because it was their humour to lay their own children at other men's doors, or to decline the censure which the notions they published were likely to expose them to, or principally to conciliate the greater esteem and value for them, by thrusting them forth under the name of those for whom the world has a just regard and veneration. As for Monsieur Daille's conjecture,[n] that the reason why several learned volumes were written and fastened upon the fathers of the ancient church, was to vindicate them from that common imputation of the Gentiles, who were

[k] Sozom. l. vi. c. 25.
[l] Sozom. l. v. c. 18.
[m] Id. l. vi. c. 25.
[n] De Script. Dionys. c. 39.

wont to charge the Christians for being a rude and illiterate generation, whose books were stuffed with nothing but plain simple doctrines, and who were strangers to all kind of learning and eloquence; that to obviate this objection, several took upon them to compose books full of learning and philosophy, which they published under the names of the first preachers and propagators of the Christian faith, and that this particularly was the case of the Recognitions ascribed to Clemens, and the writings attributed to Dionysius: the first I grant very likely and rational, the Recognitions being probably written about the second century, when (as appears from Celsus's book against the Christians) this objection was most rife, and when few learned discourses had been published by them: but can by no means allow it as to the second, Dionysius's works being written long after the learning and eloquence of the Christians had sufficiently approved itself to the world, to the shame and conviction, the envy and admiration of its greatest enemies. And there was far less need of them for this purpose, if it be true what Daille himself so confidently asserts, and so earnestly contends for, that they were not written till the beginning of the sixth century, about the year 520, when there were few learned Gentiles left to make this objection, heathenism being almost wholly banished out of the civilized world.

XVI. But whoever was their genuine parent, or upon what account soever he wrote them, it is plain, that he laid the foundation of a mystical and unintelligible divinity among Christians, and that hence proceeded all those wild Rosicrucean notions, which some men are so fond of, and the life and practice whereof they cry up as the very soul and perfection of the Christian state. And that this author does immediately minister to this design, let the reader judge by one instance, and I assure him it is none of the most obscure and intricate passages in these books. I have set it down in its own language as well as ours, not being confident of my own version, (though expressed word for word;) for I pretend to no great faculty in translating what I do not understand. Thus then he discourses concerning the knowledge of God. "God[o] (saith he) is known in all things,

[o] Διὸ καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ὁ Θεὸς γινώσκεται, καὶ χωρὶς πάντων· καὶ διὰ γνώσεως ὁ Θεὸς γινώσκεται, καὶ διὰ ἀγνωσίας. Καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ νόησις, καὶ λόγος, καὶ ἐπιστήμη, καὶ ἁφή, καὶ αἴσθησις, καὶ δόξα, καὶ φαντασία, καὶ ὄνομα, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, καὶ οὔτε

and without all things: he is known by knowledge and by ignorance: there is both a cogitation of him, and a word, and a science, and a touch, and a sense, and an opinion, and an imagination, and a name, and all other things; and yet he is neither thought, nor spoken, nor named. He is not any thing of those things that are, nor is he known in any of the things that are; he is both all things in all, and nothing in nothing; out of all things he is known to all, and out of nothing to nothing. These are the things which we rightly discourse concerning God. And this again is the most divine knowledge of God, that which is known by ignorance, according to the union that is above understanding; when the mind getting at a distance from all things that are, and having dismissed itself, is united to those super-illustrious beams, from whence and where it is enlightened in the unfathomable depth of wisdom." More of this and the like stuff is plentifully scattered up and down these books. And if this be not mystical and profound enough, I know not what is; and which certainly any man, but one well versed in this sort of theology, would look upon as a strange jargon of nonsense and contradiction. And yet this is the height of devotion and piety, which some men earnestly press after, and wherein they glory. As if a man could not truly understand the mysteries of religion, till he had resigned his reason; nor be a Christian, without first becoming an enthusiast; nor be able to speak sense, unless in a language which none can understand.

Writings falsely attributed to him.

De Cœlesti Hierarchia	Lib. 1.	Ad Sosipatrum	Epistola 1.
De Divinis Nominibus	1.	Ad Polycarpum	1.
De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia	1.	Ad Demophilum	1.
De Mystica Theologia	1.	Ad Titum	1.
Epistolæ ad Caium	4.	Ad Joannem Evangelistam	1.
Ad Dorotheum	1.	Ad Apollophanem	1.

νοεῖται, οὔτε λέγεται, οὔτε ὀνομάζεται. Καὶ οὐκ ἐστί τι τῶν ὄντων, οὐδὲ ἔν τινι τῶν ὄντων γινώσκεται. Καὶ ἐν πᾶσι πάντα ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐν οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν, καὶ ἐκ πάντων πᾶσι γινώσκέται, καὶ ἐξ οὐδενὸς οὐδενί. Καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς περὶ Θεοῦ λέγομεν. Καὶ ἐστὶν αὕθις ἡ θειοτάτη τοῦ Θεοῦ γνῶσις, ἡ δι' ἀγνωσίας γινωσκομένη, κατὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ νοῦν ἕνωσιν, ὅταν ὁ νοῦς τῶν ὄντων πάντων ἀποστὰς, ἔπειτα καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀφεὶς, ἑνωθῇ ταῖς ὑπερφάσεσιν ἀκτῖσιν, ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ἐκεῖ τῷ ἀνεξερευνήτῳ βάθει τῆς σοφίας καταλαμπόμενος. Dionys. de Divin. Nomin. c. 7.

THE LIFE OF SAINT CLEMENS

BISHOP OF ROME.

His birth-place. His parents, kindred, education, and conversion to Christianity, noted out of the books extant under his name. His relation to the imperial family shewed to be a mistake. His being made bishop of Rome. The great confusion about the first bishops of that see. A probable account endeavoured concerning the order of St. Clemens's succession, and the reconciling it with the times of the other bishops. What account given of him in the ancient epistle to St. James. Clemens's appointing notaries to write the acts of the martyrs, and despatching messengers to propagate the gospel. The schism in the church of Corinth; and Clemens's epistle to that church. An inquiry into the time when that epistle was written. The persecution under Trajan. His proceeding against the *Heteriæ*. A short relation of St. Clemens's troubles out of Simeon Metaphrastes. His banishment to Cherson. *Damnatio ad metalla*, what. The great success of his ministry in the place of his exile. St. Clemens's martyrdom, and the kind of it. The anniversary miracle reported on the day of his solemnity. The time of his martyrdom. His genuine writings. His epistle to the Corinthians: the commendations given of it by the ancients. Its style and character. The great modesty and humility that appears in it. The fragment of his second epistle. Supposititious writings. The Recognitions; their several titles, and different editions. Their antiquity, what. A conjecture concerning the author of them. The censures of the ancients concerning the corruption of them, considered. The epistle to St. James.

It makes not a little for the honour of this venerable apostolical man, (for of him all antiquity understands it,) that he was fellow-labourer with St. Paul, and one of those "whose names were written in the book of life."[a] He was born at Rome, upon Mount Cælius, as, besides others, the Pontifical,[b] under the name of Damasus, informs us. His father's name was Faustinus, but who he was, and what his profession and course of life, is not recorded. Indeed in the book of the Recognitions, and the τὰ Κλημέντια, (mentioned by the ancients, and lately published,) we have more particular accounts concerning him: books which however falsely attributed to St. Clemens, and liable in some cases to just exception, yet being of great antiquity in the church,

[a] Phil. iv. 3.

[b] Vit. Clement. vol. i. p. 75. Concill. ed. reg.

written not long after the apostolic age, (as we shall shew hereafter,) we shall thence derive some few notices to our purpose, though we cannot absolutely engage for the certainty of them. There we find St. Clemens brought in, giving this account of himself.

II. He was descended of a noble race,[c] sprung from the family of the Cæsars; his father Faustinianus, or Faustus, being near akin to the emperor (I suppose Tiberius) and educated together with him, and by his procurement matched with Mattidia, a woman of a prime family in Rome. He was the youngest of three sons, his two elder brothers being Faustinus and Faustus, who after changed their names for Nicetas and Aquila. His mother, a woman it seems of exquisite beauty, was by her husband's own brother strongly solicited to unchaste embraces: to avoid whose troublesome importunities, and yet loth to reveal it to her husband, lest it should break out to the disturbance and dishonour of their family, she found out this expedient: she pretended to her husband that she was warned in a dream, together with her two eldest sons to depart for some time from Rome. He accordingly sent them to reside at Athens, for the greater conveniency of their education. But hearing nothing of them, though he sent messengers on purpose every year, he resolved at last to go himself in pursuit of them; which he did, leaving his youngest son, then twelve years of age, at home, under the care of tutors and guardians. St. Clemens[d] grew up in all manly studies, and virtuous actions, till falling under some great dissatisfactions of mind concerning the immortality of the soul, and the state of the other life, he applied himself to search more narrowly into the nature and the truth of things. After having baffled all his own notions, he betook himself to the schools of the philosophers, where he met with nothing but fierce contentions, endless disputes, sophistical and uncertain arts of reasoning; thence he resolved to consult the Egyptian *Hierophantæ*, and to see if he could meet with any who by arts of magic was able to fetch back one of those who were departed to the invisible world, the very sight of whom might satisfy his curious inquiries about this matter. While he was under this suspense, he heard of the Son of God's appearing in the world,

[c] Recogn. l. vii. c. 8. Clem. Hom. xii. c. 8. Clem. Epitom. c. 76.
[d] Recogn. l. i. c. 1. Clem. Hom. i. c. 1. Clem. Epitom. c. 2.

and the excellent doctrines he had published in Judea, wherein he was further instructed by the ministry of St. Barnabas, who came to Rome. Him he followed first to Alexandria, and thence after a little time to Judea. Arriving at Cæsarea he met with St. Peter, by whom he was instructed and baptized, whose companion and disciple he continued for a great part of his life.

III. This is the sum of what I thought good to borrow from those ancient writings. As for his relations, what various misadventures his father and mother, and his two brothers severally met with, by what strange accidents they all afterwards met together, were converted and baptized into the Christian faith, I omit, partly as less proper to my purpose, partly because it looks more like a dramatic scene of fancy than a true and real history. As to that part of the account of his being related to the imperial family, though it be more than once and again confidently asserted by Nicephorus,[e] (who transcribes a good part of the story,) and by others[f] before him, yet I cannot but behold it as an evident mistake, arising from no other fountain than the story of Flavius Clemens, the consul, who was cousin-german to the emperor Domitian, and his wife Flavia Domitilla, near akin also to the emperor; concerning whose conversion to, and martyrdom for the faith of Christ, we have elsewhere[g] given an account from the writers of those times. Probable it is, that St. Clemens for the main attended St. Peter's motions, and came with him to Rome, where he had at last the government of that church committed to him. Dorotheus tells us,[h] that he was the first of the Gentiles that embraced the Christian faith, and that he was first made bishop of Sardica, a city in Thrace, afterwards called Triaditza, and then of Rome. But herein I think he stands alone, I am sure has none of the ancients to join with him; unless he understands it of another Clemens, whom the Chronicon Alexandrinum[i] also makes one of the seventy disciples, but withal seems to confound with ours. That he was bishop of Rome, there is an unanimous and un-

[e] Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 35. l. iii. c. 2. et 18.

[f] Eucher. Lugd. ad Valerian. de contempt. Mund. Anonym. de vit. Petr. et Paul. ap. P. Jun. not. in Clem. Ep. ad Corinth.

[g] Primit. Christ. p. 1. c. 3.

[h] Synops. de vit. Apostt. in bibl. patrum, vol. iii. p. 184. ed. 1575.

[i] Chron. Alex. p. 214.

questionable agreement of all ancient writers, though they strangely vary about the place and order of his coming to it. The writers of the Roman church, how great words soever they speak of the constant and uninterrupted succession of St. Peter's chair, are yet involved in an inextricable labyrinth about the succession of the four first bishops of that see, scarce two of them of any note bringing in the same account. I shall not attempt to accommodate the difference between the several schemes that are given in, but only propose what I conceive most likely and probable.

IV. Evident it is, both from Irenæus[j] and Epiphanius,[k] as also before them from Caius[l] an ancient writer, and from Dionysius[m] bishop of Corinth, that Peter and Paul jointly laid the foundations of the church of Rome, and are therefore equally styled bishops of it; the one as "apostle of the Gentiles," (as we may probably suppose,) taking care of the Gentile Christians, while the other, as "the apostle of the circumcision," applied himself to the Jewish converts at Rome. For we cannot imagine, that there being such chronical and inveterate prejudices between Jews and Gentiles, especially in matters of religion, they should be suddenly laid aside, and both intercommune in one public society. We know that in the church of Jerusalem, till the destruction of the temple, none were admitted but Jewish converts: and so it might be at first at Rome, where infinite numbers of Jews then resided, they might keep themselves for some time in distinct assemblies, the one under St. Paul, the other under Peter. And some foundation for such a conjecture there seems to be even in the apostolic history, where St. Luke[n] tells us, that St. Paul at his first coming to Rome being rejected by the Jews turned to the Gentiles, declaring to them "the salvation of God," who gladly heard and entertained it; and that he continued thus "preaching the kingdom of God, and receiving all that came in unto him for two years together." This I look upon as the first settled foundation of a Gentile church at Rome, the further care and presidency whereof St. Paul might devolve upon Linus, (whom the interpolated Ignatius makes his deacon or minister,) as St. Peter having established a church of

[j] Adv. Hæres. l. iii. c. 3. s. 2. [k] Epiph. Hæres. xxvii. c. 6. vid. Ham. Dissert. v. c. 1.
[l] Cai. adv. Procul. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 25.
[m] Dionys. Epist. ad Rom. apud Euseb. l. ii. c. 25. [n] Acts xxviii. 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 31.

Jewish converts might turn it over to St. Clemens, of whom Tertullian expressly says,[o] that Peter ordained him bishop of Rome. Accordingly the compiler of the Apostolic Constitutions[p] makes Linus to be ordained bishop of Rome by St. Paul, and Clemens by St. Peter. He says, indeed, that Linus was the first, and so he might very well be, seeing St. Paul (whatever the modern writers of that church say to the contrary) was some considerable time at Rome before St. Peter came hither. Linus dying, was probably succeeded by Cletus or Anacletus (for the Greeks, and doubtless most truly, generally make him the same person) in his distinct capacity: at which time Clemens, whom St. Peter had ordained to be his successor, continued to act as president over the church of Jewish converts: and thus things remained till the death of Cletus, when the difference between Jew and Gentile being quite worn off, the entire presidency and government of the whole church of Rome might devolve upon St. Clemens as the survivor; and from this period of time, the years of his episcopacy, according to the common computation, are to begin their date. By this account, not only that of Optatus[q] and the Bucherian Catalogue[r] may be true, who make Clemens to follow Linus, but also that of Baronius and many of the ancients, who make both Linus and Cletus to go before him, as we can allow they did as bishops and pastors of the Gentile church. As for a more distinct and particular account of the times, I thus compute them: Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom in the Neronian persecution, (as we have elsewhere probably shewed,) anno 65. After which, Linus sat twelve years, four months, and twelve days; Cletus twelve years, one (but as Baronius seven) months, and eleven days; which between them make twenty-five years, and extend to Ann. Chr. 90; after which if we add the nine years, eleven months, and twelve days, wherein Clemens sat sole bishop over that whole church, they fall in exactly with the third year of Trajan, the time assigned for his martyrdom, by Eusebius, Hierom, Damasus, and many others. Or if with Petavius, Ricciolus, and some others, we assign the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, anno 67, two years later, the computation will still run more smooth and easy, and there will be time enough to be

[o] De Præscript. Hæret. c. 32.
[p] Lib. vii. c. 47.
[q] De Schism. Donat. l. ii. p. 36.
[r] A Bucher. edit. comm. in Vict. Can. Pasch. c. 15.

allowed for the odd months and days assigned by the different accounts, and to make the years of their pontificate complete and full. Nor can I think of any way, considering the great intricacy and perplexity of the thing, that can bid fairer for an easy solution of this matter. For granting Clemens to have been ordained by St. Peter for his successor, (as several of the ancients expressly affirm,) and yet withal (what is evident enough) that he died not till Ann. Chr. 100. Traj. 3, it will be very difficult to find any way so proper to reconcile it. As for that fancy of Epiphanius,[s] that Clemens might receive imposition of hands from Peter, but refused the actual exercise of the episcopal office, so long as Linus and Cletus lived: he only proposes it as a conjecture, founded merely upon a mistaken passage of Clemens in his epistle to the Corinthians, and confesses it is a thing wherein he dare not be positive, not being confident whether it were so or no.

V. Might the ancient epistle[t] written to St. James, the brother of our Lord, under the name of our St. Clemens, be admitted as a competent evidence, there we find not only that Clemens was constituted bishop by St. Peter, but with what formality the whole affair was transacted. It tells us that the apostle, sensible of his approaching dissolution, presented Clemens before the church as a fit person to be his successor; the good man with all imaginable modesty declined the honour, which St. Peter in a long discourse urged upon him, and set out at large the particular duties both of ministers in their respective orders and capacities, as also of the people; which done, he laid his hands upon him, and compelled him to take his seat. How he administered this great but difficult province, the ecclesiastical records give us very little account. The author of the Pontifical[u] that fathers himself upon pope Damasus, tells us, that he divided Rome into seven regions, in each of which he appointed a notary, who should diligently inquire after all the martyrs that suffered within his division, and faithfully record the acts of their martyrdom. I confess the credit of this author is not good enough absolutely to rely upon his single testimony in matters so remote and distant: though we are otherwise sufficiently assured, that

[s] Contr. Carpocrat. Hæres. xxvii. c. 6. vid. Clem. Epist. ad Corinth. c. 54.

[t] Extat Græce et Lat. inter Patres Apost. à Coteler. edit.

[u] Lib. Pontif. in vit. Clem. vol. i. p. 75. Concill. ed. reg.

the custom of notaries taking the speeches, acts, and sufferings of the martyrs did obtain in the early ages of the church. Besides this, we are told by others that he despatched away several persons to preach and propagate the Christian religion in those countries, whither the sound of the gospel had not yet arrived. Nor did he only concern himself to propagate Christianity where it wanted, but to preserve the peace of those churches where it was already planted:[x] for an unhappy schism having broken out in the church of Corinth, they sent to Rome to require his advice and assistance in it, who in the name of the church, whereof he was governor, wrote back an incomparable epistle to them, to compose and quell *μιαρὰν καὶ ἀνόσιον στάσιν*, as he calls it,[y] "that impious and abominable sedition" that was arisen amongst them. And indeed there seems to have been a more intimate and friendly intercourse between these two churches in those times, than between any other mentioned in the writings of the church. The exact time of writing this epistle is not known, the date of it not being certainly determinable by any notices of antiquity, or any intimations in the epistle itself. The conjecture that has obtained with some of most note and learning is, that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, while the temple and the Levitical ministration were yet standing: which they collect, I suppose, from a passage,[z] where he speaks of them in the present tense. But whoever impartially considers the place, will find no necessary foundation for such an inference, and that St. Clemens's design was only to illustrate his argument, and to shew the reasonableness of observing those particular stations and ministries which God has appointed us, by alluding to the ordinances of the Mosaic institution. To me it seems most probable to have been written a little after the persecution under Domitian, and probably not long before Clemens's exile. For excusing the no sooner answering the letters of the church of Corinth, he tells them[a] it was *διὰ γενομένας ἡμῖν συμφορὰς καὶ περιπτώσεις*, by reason of those calamities and sad accidents that had happened to them. Now plain it is, that no persecution had been raised against the Christians, especially at Rome, from the time of Nero till Domitian. As for Mr. Young's conjecture from this place, that

[x] Hegesip. ap. Euseb. l. iii. c. 16.
[y] Epist. ad Corinth. c. 1.
[z] Ibid. c. 40.
[a] Ibid. c. 1.

it was written in the time of his banishment; he forgot to consider that the epistle was written not in Clemens's own name, but in the person of the church of Rome. A circumstance that renders the place incapable of being particularly applied to him.

VI. By a firm patience and a prudent care he weathered out the stormy and troublesome times of Domitian, and the short but peaceable reign of Nerva. When, alas, the clouds returned after rain, and began to thicken into a blacker storm in the time of Trajan, an excellent prince, indeed of so sweet and plausible a disposition, of so mild and inoffensive a conversation, that it was ever after a part of their solemn acclamation at the choice of a new elected emperor, MELIOR TRAJANO,[b] better than Trajan. But withal he was zealous for his religion, and upon that account a severe enemy to Christians. Among several laws enacted in the beginning of his reign, he published one (if Baronius,[c] which I much question, conjecture the time aright, for Pliny's epistle,[d] upon which he seems to ground it, was probably written at least nine or ten years after) whereby he forbad the *heteriæ*, the societies or colleges erected up and down the Roman empire, whereat men were wont to meet, and liberally feast under a pretence of more convenient despatch of business, and the maintenance of mutual love and friendship; which yet the Roman state beheld with a jealous eye, as fit nurseries for treason and sedition. Under the notion of these unlawful combinations, the Christian assemblies were looked upon by their enemies; for finding them confederated under one common president, and constantly meeting at their solemn love-feasts, and especially being of a way of worship different from the religion of the empire, they thought they might securely proceed against them as illegal societies, and contemners of the imperial constitution, wherein St. Clemens, as head of the society at Rome, was sure to bear the deepest share. And, indeed, it was no more than what himself had long expected, as appears from his letter to the Corinthians; where having spoken of the torments and sufferings which the holy apostles had undergone, he tells them,[e] that he looked upon himself and his people as ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σκάμματι, set to run the same race, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ἀγὼν ἐπίκειται, and that the same fight and conflict was laid up for them.

[b] Eutrop. Hist. Rom. l. viii. non longe ab initio.
[c] Ad Ann. 100. n. 8.
[d] Epist. 97. l. x.
[e] Ep. ad Corinth. c. 7.

VII. Simeon the Metaphrast, in the account of his martyrdom,[f] (much-what the same with that Life of St. Clemens, said to be written by an uncertain author, published long since by Lazius at the end of Abdias Babylonius,) sets down the beginning of his troubles to this effect. St. Clemens having converted Theodora, a noble lady, and afterwards her husband Sisinnius, a kinsman and favourite of the late emperor Nerva, the gaining so great a man quickly drew on others of chief note and quality to embrace the faith: so prevalent is the example of religious greatness to sway men to piety and virtue; but envy naturally maligns the good of others, and hates the instrument that procures it. This good success derived upon him the particular odium of Torcutianus,[g] a man of great power and authority at that time in Rome, who by the inferior magistrates of the city excited the people to a mutiny against the holy man, charging him with magic and sorcery, and for being an enemy and blasphemer of the gods; crying out, either that he should do sacrifice to them, or expiate his impiety with his blood. Mamertinus, prefect of the city, a moderate and prudent man, being willing to appease the uproar, sent for St. Clemens, and mildly persuaded him to comply. But finding his resolution inflexible, he sent to acquaint the emperor with the case, who returned this short rescript, that he should either sacrifice to the gods, or be banished to Cherson, a disconsolate city beyond the Pontic sea. Mamertinus having received the imperial mandate, unwillingly complied with it, and gave order that all things should be made ready for the voyage, and accordingly he was transported thither, to dig in the marble quarries, and labour in the mines. *Damnatio ad metalla* is a punishment frequently mentioned in the Roman laws, where it is said to be *proxima morti pœna*,[h] the very next to capital punishments. Indeed the usage under it was very extreme and rigorous: for besides the severest labour and most intolerable hardship, the condemned person was treated with all the instances of inhumanity, whipped and beaten, chained and fettered, deprived of his estate,[i] which was forfeited to the exchequer, and the person himself perpetually degraded

[f] Habetur Græce et Lat. integrum ap. Cotelerii Patres Apost.

[g] Ibid. c. 15.

[h] Lib. xxviii. ff. de pœn. l. 48. Tit. 19.

[i] Lib. xxxvi. ubi supr. l. 12. ff. de jur. fisc. lib. xlix. Tit. 14. l. 1. de bon. damnat. l. 8. Qui test. fac. poss. §. 4.

into the condition of a slave, and consequently rendered incapable to make a will. And not this only, but they were further exposed to the most public marks of infamy and dishonour, their heads half shaved,[k] their right eye bored out, their left leg disabled, their foreheads branded with an infamous mark, a piece of disgrace first used in this case by Caligula[l] (and the historian notes it as an instance of his cruel temper) and from him continued till the times of Constantine, who abolished it by a law[m] Ann. Chr. 315, not to mention the hunger and thirst, the cold and nakedness, the filth and nastiness, which they were forced to conflict with in those miserable places.

VIII. Arriving at the place of his uncomfortable exile, he found vast numbers of Christians condemned to the same miserable fate, whose minds were not a little erected under all their pressures at the sight of so good a man, by whose constant preaching, and the frequent miracles that he wrought, their enemies were converted into a better opinion of them and their religion, the inhabitants of those countries daily flocking over to the faith, so that in a little time Christianity had beaten Paganism out of the field, and all monuments of idolatry thereabouts were defaced and overturned. The fame whereof was quickly carried to the emperor, who despatched Aufidianus the president to put a stop to this growing sect, which by methods of terror and cruelty he set upon, putting great numbers of them to death. But finding how readily and resolutely they pressed up to execution, and that this day's martyrs did but prepare others for to-morrow's torments, he gave over contending with the multitude, and resolved to single out one of note above the rest, whose exemplary punishment might strike dread and terror into the rest. To this purpose St. Clemens is pitched on, and all temptations being in vain tried upon him, the executioners are commanded to carry him aboard and throw him into the bottom of the sea, where the Christians might despair to find him. This kind of death was called καταποντισμὸς, and was in use not only among the Greeks, as appears by the instance mentioned by Diodorus Siculus,[n] but the Romans, as we find in several malefactors condemned to be thrown into the sea, both

[k] Cypr. Epist. 76. ad Nemes. Euseb. l. viii. c. 12.
[l] Sueton. in vit. Calig. c. 27.
[m] Lib. ii. Cod. Th. de pœn. lib. ix. Tit. 40.
[n] Biblioth. l. xvi. p. 435. ed. 1604.

by Tiberius and Avidius Cassius.[o] To this our Lord has respect, when, in the case of wilful scandal, he pronounces it "better for the man that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the bottom of the sea."[p] Where though St. Hierom tells us,[q] that this punishment was usual among the ancient Jews in case of more enormous crimes, yet do I not remember that any such capital punishment ever prevailed among them. I shall not here relate what I find concerning the strange and miraculous discovery of St. Clemens's body, nor the particular miracle of a little child preserved in the church erected to him in the middle of the sea for a whole year together, (though solemnly averred by Ephraem[r] bishop of the place,) as despairing they would ever find a belief wide enough to swallow them, nor those infinite other miracles said to be done there; it shall only suffice to mention one; that upon the anniversary solemnity of his martyrdom the sea retreats on each side into heaps, and leaves a fair and dry passage for three miles together to the martyr's tomb, erected within a church, built (as it must be supposed by angels) within the sea, and the people's devotions being ended, the sea returns to its own place, *τιμῶντος τοῦ Θεοῦ κἀνταῦθα τὸν μάρτυρα*, says one of my authors,[s] "God by this means doing honour to the martyr." I only add, that these traditions were current before the time of Gregory bishop of Tours, who speaks of them with great reverence and devotion.[t] St. Clemens died (as both Eusebius[u] and St. Hierom[v] witness, for I heed not the account of the Alexandrine Chronicon,[x] which places it four years after, Trajan 7, though the consuls, which he there assigns, properly belong to the fourth of that emperor) in the third year of Trajan, a little more than two years after his banishment, after he had been sole bishop of Rome nine years, six months, and so many days, say Baronius and others, though Bucherius's Catalogue, more to be trusted, (as being composed before the death of pope Liberius, anno 354,) nine years, eleven months, and twelve days. His martyrdom happened on

[o] Sueton. in vit. Tib. c. 62. Vul. Gallic. in Avid. Cass. c. 4.

[p] Mark ix. 42. [q] Com. in Matt. xviii. vol. iv. par. 1. p. 82.

[r] Serm. de mirac. in puer. a S. Clem. fact. ap. Sur. Novemb. 23. et Gr. Lat. ap. Coteler. c. 7—12. vol. i. p. 817.

[s] Ibid. c. 11. p. 818. [t] De Mirac. l. i. c. 35, 36.

[u] Lib. iii. c. 34. [v] De Script. Eccl. in Clem.

[x] Ann. 4. Olymp. 220. Ind. 1.

the twenty-fourth of November, according to Baronius and the ordinary Roman computation, but on the ninth of that month, says the little Martyrology published by Bucherius,[y] and which unquestionably was one of the true and genuine calendars of the ancient church. He was honoured at Rome by a church erected to his memory, yet standing in St. Hierom's time.[z]

IX. The writings which at this day bear the name of this apostolic man, are of two sorts, genuine or supposititious. In the first class is that famous Epistle to the Corinthians, so much magnified by the ancients, *ἱκανωτάτη γραφὴ*, (as Irenæus[a] calls it;) the most excellent and absolute writing, *μεγάλη τε καὶ θαυμασία*, says Eusebius;[b] a truly great and admirable epistle and very useful, as St. Hierom[c] adds; *ἀξιόλογος*, as Photius[d] styles it; worthy of all esteem and veneration, *ἀνωμολογουμένη παρὰ πᾶσι*, as Eusebius assures us,[e] received by all and indeed reverenced by them next to the holy Scriptures, and therefore publicly read in their churches for some ages, even till his time, and it may be a long time after. The style of it (as Photius[f] truly observes) is very plain and simple, imitating an ecclesiastical and unaffected way of writing, and which breathes the true genius and spirit of the apostolic age. It was written upon occasion of a great schism and sedition in the church of Corinth, begun by two or three factious persons against the governors of the church, who, envying either the gifts or the authority and esteem of their guides and teachers, had attempted to depose them, and had drawn the greatest part of the church into the conspiracy; whom, therefore, he endeavours by soft words and hard arguments to reduce back to peace and unity. His modesty and humility in it are peculiarly discernible, not only that he wholly writes it in the name of the church of Rome, without so much as ever mentioning his own, but in that he treats them with such gentle and mild persuasives. Nothing of sourness, or an imperious "lording it over God's heritage," to be seen in the whole epistle. Had he known himself to be the infallible judge of controversies, to whose sentence the whole Christian world was bound to stand, invested with a supreme unaccountable

[y] A Bucher. edit. comm. in Vict. can. Pasch. c. 15.
[z] De Script. in Clement.
[a] Adv. Hæres. l. iii. ap. Euseb. l. v. c. 6.
[b] Lib. iii. c. 16.
[c] De Script. Eccles. in Clem.
[d] Cod. CXII.
[e] Lib. iii. c. 38.
[f] Cod. CXXVI.

power, from which there lay no appeal, we might have expected to have heard him argue at another rate. But these were the encroachments and usurpations of later ages, when a spirit of covetousness and secular ambition had stifled the modesty and simplicity of those first and best ages of religion. There is so great an affinity in many things, both as to words and matter, between this and the Epistle to the Hebrews, as tempted Eusebius[g] and St. Hierom[h] of old, and some others before them, to conclude St. Clemens at least the translator of that epistle. This Epistle to the Corinthians, after it had been generally bewailed as lost for many ages, was not more to the benefit of the church in general, than the honour of our own in particular, some forty years since published here in England, a treasure not sufficiently to be valued. Besides this first, there is the fragment of a second epistle, or rather homily, containing a serious exhortation and direction to a pious life: ancient indeed, and which many will persuade us to be his, and to have been written many years before the former, as that which betrays no footsteps of troublesome and unquiet times: but Eusebius,[i] St. Hierom, and Photius assure us that it was rejected, and never obtained among the ancients equal approbation with the first. And therefore though we do not peremptorily determine against its being his, yet we think it safer to acquiesce in the judgment of the ancients, than of some few late writers in this matter.

X. As for those writings that are undoubtedly spurious and supposititious, disowned (as Eusebius says[k]) because they did not *καθαρὸν τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀποσώζειν τὸν χαρακτῆρα*, "retain the true stamp and character of orthodox apostolic doctrine," though the truth is, he speaks it only of the Dialogues of Peter and Appion, not mentioning the Decretal Epistles, as not worth taking notice of, there are four extant at this day that are entitled to him, the Apostolical Canons and Constitutions, (said to be penned by him, though dictated by the apostles,) the Recognitions, and the Epistle to St. James. For the two first, the Apostolic Canons and the Constitutions, I have declared my sense of them in another place,[l] to which I shall add nothing here. The Recognitions succeed, conveyed to us under different titles by the ancients,

[g] Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 38. [h] De Script. Eclces. in Clem. [i] Locis supra citatis.
[k] Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 38. [l] Pref. to Primit. Christianity.

sometimes styled St. Clemens's Acts, History, Chronicle; sometimes St. Peter's Acts, Itinerary, Periods, Dialogues with Appion; all which are unquestionably but different inscriptions (or it may be parcels) of the same book. True it is what Photius[m] suspected, and Rufinus[n] (who translated it) expressly tells us, that there were two several editions of this book, differing in some things, but the same in most. And it deserves to be considered, whether the τὰ Κλημέντια mentioned by Nicephorus,[o] and which he says the church received, and denies to be those meant by Eusebius, and those Clementine Homilies lately published under that very name, be not that other edition of the Recognitions, seeing they exactly answer Rufinus's character, differing in some things, but in most agreeing with them. There is yet a third edition, or rather abstract out of all, styled Κλήμεντος περὶ τῶν πράξεων, &c., "Clemens's Epitome of the Acts, Travels, and Preachings of St. Peter," agreeing with the former, though keeping more close to the Homilies than the other. This I guess to have been compiled by Simeon the Metaphrast, as for other reasons, so especially because the appendage added to it by the same hand concerning Clemens's martyrdom is word for word the same with that of Metaphrastes, the close of it only excepted, which is taken out of St. Ephraem's Homily of the miracle done at his tomb.

XI. The Recognitions themselves are undoubtedly of very great antiquity, written about the same time, and by the same hand, (as Blondel probably conjectures,[p]) with the Constitutions, about the year 180, or not long after. Sure I am, they are cited by Origen[q] as the work of Clemens in his Periods, and his large quotation is in so many words extant in them at this day.[r] Nay, before him we meet with a very long fragment of Bardesanes the Syrian[s] (who flourished anno 180) concerning Fate, word for word the same with what we find in the Recognitions, and it seems equally reasonable to suppose that Bardesanes had it thence, as that the other borrowed it from him. Nay, what if Bardesanes himself was the author of these books? It is certain that he was a man of great parts and learning, a man

[m] Cod. CXII. [n] Præfat. ad Gaudent. [o] Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 18.
[p] Pseudo-Isid. p. 28. [q] Philocal. c. 23. [r] Recognit. l. x.
[s] Extat. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evan. l. vi. c. 10. et seq. vid. Recogn. l. ix.

prompt and eloquent, καὶ διαλεκτικώτατος,[t] an acute and subtle disputant, heretically inclined, for he came out of the school of Valentinus, whose uncouth notions he had so deeply imbibed, that even after his recantation he could never get clear from the dregs of them, as Eusebius informs us: though Epiphanius[u] tells us he was first orthodox, and afterwards fell into the errors of that sect, like a well-freighted ship, that having duly performed its voyage is cast away in the very sight of the harbour. He was a great mathematician and astrologer, ἐπ' ἄκρον τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς ἐπιστήμης ἐληλακὼς,[x] accurately versed in the Chaldean learning, and wrote incomparable Dialogues concerning Fate, which he dedicated to the emperor Antoninus. And surely none can have looked into the Recognitions, but he must see what a considerable part the doctrines concerning fate, the genesis, the influence of the stars and heavenly constellations, and such like notions, make there of St. Peter's and St. Clemens's dialogues and discourses. To which we may add what Photius has observed,[y] and is abundantly evident from the thing itself, that these books are considerable for their clearness and perspicuity, their eloquent style and grave discourses, and that great variety of learning that is in them, plainly shewing their composer to have been a master in all human learning, and the study of philosophy. I might further remark, that Bardesanes seems to have had a peculiar genius for books of this nature, it being particularly noted of him,[z] that besides the scriptures, he traded in certain apocryphal writings. He wrote πλεῖστα συγγράμματα,[a] which St. Hierom[b] renders "infinite volumes;" written indeed for the most part in Syriac, but which his scholars translated into Greek, though he himself was sufficiently skilful in that language, as Epiphanius notes. In the number of these books might be the Recognitions, plausibly fathered upon St. Clemens, who was notoriously known to be St. Peter's companion and disciple: and were but some of his many books now extant, I doubt not but a much greater affinity both in style and notions would appear between them. But this I propose only as a probable conjecture, and leave it at the reader's plea-

[t] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 30.
[x] Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. vi. c. 9.
[z] Epiph. Hæres. lvi. c. 2.
[b] De Script. Eccles. in Bardes.
[u] Epiph. Hæres. lvi. c. 1.
[y] Cod. CXII.
[a] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 30.

sure either to reject or entertain it. I am not ignorant that both St. Hierom[c] and Photius[d] charge these books with heretical opinions, especially some derogatory to the honour of the Son of God, which it may be Rufinus (who confesses the same thing,[e] and supposes them to have been inserted by some heretical hand) concealed in his translation: nay, Epiphanius tells us,[f] that the Ebionites did so extremely corrupt them, that they scarce left any thing of St. Clemens sound and true in them, which he observes from their repugnancy to his other writings, those Encyclical Epistles of his (as he calls them) which were read in the churches. But then it is plain, he means it only of those copies which were in the possession of those heretics, probably not now extant; nor do any of those particular adulterations, which he says they made in them, appear in our books; nor in those large and, to be sure, uncorrupt fragments of Bardesanes and Origen, is there the least considerable variation from those books which we have at this day. But of this enough.

XII. The Epistle to St. James, the "brother of our Lord," is, no doubt, of equal date with the rest; in the close whereof the author pretends that he was commanded by St. Peter to give him an account of his travels, discourses, and the success of his ministry, under the title of "Clemens's Epitome of Peter's popular preachings," to which he tells him he would next proceed. So that this epistle originally was nothing but a preface to St. Peter's Acts or Periods, (the same in effect with the Recognitions,) and accordingly in the late edition of the Clementine Homilies (which have the very title mentioned in that epistle) it is found prefixed before them. This epistle (as Photius tells us[g]) varied according to different editions; sometimes pretending that it, and the account of St. Peter's Acts annexed to it, were written by St. Peter himself, and by him sent to St. James; sometimes that they were written by Clemens at St. Peter's instance and command. Whence he conjectures that there was a twofold edition of St. Peter's Acts, one said to be written by himself, the other by Clemens; and that when in time the first was lost, that pretending to St. Clemens did remain: for so he assures us he constantly found it in those many copies that he

[c] Apol. adv. Rufin. l. ii. vol. iv. par. 2. p. 409.
[d] Phot. Cod. CXII. Hæres. xxx. c. 15.
[e] Apolog. pro Orig. ap. Hieron. vol. v. p. 250.
[g] Cod. CXII.

met with, notwithstanding that the epistle and inscription were sometimes different and various. By the original whereof now published, appears the fraud of the factors of the Romish church, who in all Latin editions have added an appendix almost twice as large as the epistle itself. And well had it been, had this been the only instance wherein some men, to shore up a tottering cause, have made bold with the writers of the ancient church.

His writings.

Genuine.

Epistola ad Corinthios.

Doubtful.

Epistola ad Corinth. secunda.

Supposititious.

Epistola ad Jacobum Fratrem Domini.

Supposititious.

Recognitionum, libri 10.

Τὰ Κλημέντια, seu Homiliæ Clementinæ.

Constitutionum Apost. libri 8.

Canones Apostolici.

THE LIFE OF SAINT SIMEON

BISHOP OF JERUSALEM.

THE heedless confounding him with others of the like name. His parents, and near relation to our Saviour. The time of his birth. His strict education and way of life. The order and institution of the Rechabites, what. His conversion to Christianity. The great care about a successor to St. James bishop of Jerusalem. Simeon chosen to that place, when and why. The causes of the destruction of the Jewish state. The original and progress of those wars briefly related. The miserable state of Jerusalem by siege, pestilence, and famine. Jerusalem stormed. The burning of the temple, and the rage of the fire. The number of the slain and captives. The just accomplishment of our Lord's predictions. The many prodigies portending this destruction. The Christians forewarned to depart before Jerusalem was shut up. Their withdrawment to Pella. The admirable care of the Divine Providence over them. Their return back to Jerusalem, when. The flourishing condition of the Christian church there. The occasion of St. Simeon's martyrdom. The infinite jealousy of the Roman emperors concerning the line of David. Simeon's apprehension and crucifixion. His singular torments and patience. His great age, and the time of his death.

I. IT cannot be unobserved by any that have but looked into the antiquities of the church, what confusion the identity or similitude of names has bred among ecclesiastic writers, especially in the more early ages, where the records are but short and few. An instance whereof, were there no other, we have in the person of whom we write: whom some[a] will have to be the same with St. Simon the Canaanite, one of the twelve apostles; others confound him with Simon, one of the four brethren of our Lord, while a third sort make all three to be but one and the same person: the sound and similitude of names giving birth to the several mistakes. For that Simeon of Jerusalem was a person altogether distinct from Simon the apostle, is undeniably evident from the most ancient martyrologies both of the Greek and the Latin church, where vastly different accounts are given concerning their persons, employments, and the time and places

[a] Vid. Chron. Alexandr. Olymp. 220. Ind. 1. Traj. 7. et Ann. sequent.

of their death; Simon the Apostle being martyred in Britain, or as others in Persia, while Simeon the bishop is notoriously known to have suffered in Palestine or in Syria. Nor are the testimonies of Dorotheus, Sophronius, or Isidore considerable enough to be weighed against the authorities of Hegesippus, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and others. But of this enough.

II. St. Simeon was the son of Cleophas,[b] brother to Joseph, husband to the blessed Virgin, and so his father had the honour to be uncle to our Saviour, in the same sense that Joseph was his father. His mother (say some)[c] was Mary the wife of Cleophas, mentioned in the history of the gospel, sister or cousin-german to the mother of our Lord: and if so, he was by both sides nearly related to our Saviour. He was born (as appears from his age, and the date of his martyrdom assigned by Eusebius) Ann. Mundi 3936; thirteen years, according to the vulgar computation, before our Saviour's incarnation. His education was according to the severest rules of religion professed in the Jewish church, being entered into the order of the Rechabites, as may be probably collected from the ancients. For Hegesippus informs us,[d] that when the Jews were busily engaged in the martyrdom of St. James the Just, a Rechabite priest, one of the generation of the sons of Rechab, mentioned by the prophet Jeremy, stepped in, and interceded with the people to spare so just and good a man, and one that was then praying to heaven for them. This person, Epiphanius expressly tells us,[e] was St. Simeon the son of Cleophas, and cousin-german to the holy martyr. The Rechabites were an ancient institution, founded by Jonadab the son of Rechab, who flourished in the reign of Jehu, and obliged his posterity to these following rules;[f] to drink no wine, sow no fields, plant no vineyards, build no houses, but to dwell only in tents and tabernacles. All which precepts (the last only excepted, which wars and foreign invasions would not suffer them to observe) they kept with the most religious reverence; and are therefore highly commended by God for their exact conformity to the laws of their institution,

[b] Hegesip. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 11. Epiph. Hæres. lxvi. c. 19. et omnia antiqua Martyrologia, Adonis, Bedæ, Notkeri, Usuardi apud Bolland. de Vit. SS. ad diem 18. Febr.

[c] Hegesip. ap. Euseb. l. iii. c. 32. Niceph. l. iii. c. 16.

[d] Ibid. l. ii. c. 23.

[e] Hæres. lxviii. c. 7.

[f] Jer. xxxv. 2, 3, &c.

and brought in to upbraid the degeneracy of the house of Israel, in violating the commands he had laid upon them. They continued, it seems, (and so God had promised them, that "they should not want a man to stand before him for ever,[g]) till the very last times of the Jewish church, though little notice be taken of them, as indeed they are but once mentioned throughout the whole history of the Bible, and that only accidentally, and then too no less than three hundred years after their first institution. Probable it is, that in after-times all Rechabites were not Jonadab's immediate descendants, but that all were accounted such, who took upon them the observance of the same rules and orders which Jonadab had prescribed to his immediate posterity. It further seems probable to me, that from these Rechabites, the Essenes, that famous sect among the Jews, borrowed their original; that part of them especially that dwelt in towns and cities, and in many things conformed themselves to the rules of the civil and sociable life. For as for the Θεωρητικοὶ described by Philo,[h] they gave up themselves mainly to solitude and contemplation, lived in forests and among groves of palm-trees, and shunned all intercourse and converse with other men. While the practic part of them, (more particularly taken notice of by Josephus,[i]) though abstaining from marriage, and despising the riches and pleasures of this world, did yet reside in cities and places of public concourse, labour in their several trades and callings, maintain hospitality, and were united in a common college and society, where they were kept to a solemn observance of the great duties of religion, and devoted to the orders of a very strict pious life. And among these, I doubt not, the Rechabites were incorporated and swallowed up, though it may be, together with the general name of Essenes, they might still retain their particular and proper name. But to return.

III. His first institution in Christianity was probably laid under the discipline of our Lord himself, whose auditor and follower Hegesippus[k] supposes him to have been; and in all likelihood he was one of the seventy disciples, in which capacity he continued many years, when he was advanced to a place of great honour and eminency in the church. About the year 62,

[g] Jer. xxxv. 19. [h] Lib. Περὶ βίου Θεωρητικοῦ, ἢ ἱκετῶν ἀρετῶν, p. 891, &c.
[i] De Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 8. s. 2, &c. et Antiq. Jud. l. xviii. c. 1. s. 5.
[k] Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 32.

St. James the Just, bishop of Jerusalem, by the artifices of Ananus, the high-priest, had been cruelly martyred by the Jews: the providing for whose place was so far thought to be the concernment of the whole Christian church, that the apostles and disciples of our Lord are said to have come from all parts to advise and consult with those of our Saviour's kindred and relations about a fit successor in his room.[l] None was thought meet to be a candidate for the place, but one of our Lord's own relations; and accordingly with one consent they devolved the honour upon Simeon, our Lord's next kinsman, whom they all judged most worthy of the place. I know Eusebius seems to intimate that this election was made not only after St. James's death, but after the destruction of Jerusalem, between which there was the distance of no less than eight or nine years. But (besides that Eusebius makes the destruction of Jerusalem immediately to succeed upon St. James's martyrdom, when yet there was so great a space) it is very unreasonable to suppose that so famous and eminent a church, a church newly constituted, and planted in the midst of the most bitter and inveterate enemies, should for so long a time be destitute of a guide and pastor, especially seeing the apostles were all long since dispersed into several remote quarters of the world: not to say that most of the apostles were dead before that time; or if they had not, could not very conveniently have returned and met together about this affair in so dismal and distracted a state of things, as the Roman wars, and the utter ruin and overthrow of the Jewish nation, had then put those parts into. Besides that Eusebius[m] himself elsewhere places Simeon's succession immediately after St. James's martyrdom. Nor is the least vacancy in that see mentioned by any other writer. The Chronicle o Alexandria[n] places his succession, anno 69; for it tells us, tha this year St. James, the apostle and patriarch of Jerusalem (whom St. Peter at the time of his going to Rome, as his prope see, had ordained to that place; this passage, it is plain th publisher, for want of rightly distinguishing, did not understand dying, Simeon or Simon was made patriarch in his room. But this account is against the faith of all the ancients, who make St. James to have suffered martyrdom several years before; nor

[l] Ap. Euseb. l. iii. c. 11. vid. l. iv. c. 22.

[m] Chron. ad Ann. Chr. 62.

[n] Ann. 1. Olympiad. 212. Ind. 11. Vespas. 1.

do any of them say that he was ordained by St. Peter, many of them expressly affirming, that he immediately received his consecration from the hands of our Lord himself.

IV. How he managed the affairs of that church, is not distinctly known, few particular accounts of things being transmitted to us. Confident we may be that his presidency was attended with sufficient trouble and difficulty, not only from the malicious and turbulent temper of that people, whom he was continually exposed to, but because it fell in with the most black and fatal period of the Jewish church. For the sins of that nation being now ripe for vengeance, and having filled up the measure of their iniquities by their cruel usage of the apostles and messengers of our Saviour, their barbarous treatment of St. Stephen, and afterward of St. James the Great, and their last bloody murder of St. James the Less, but above all, by their insolent and merciless carriage towards the Son of God, and the Saviour of the world, "the wrath of God came upon them to the uttermost," and the Romans broke in upon them, and "took away" both "their place and nation." The sum whereof, because containing such remarkable passages of providence, such instances of severe displeasure towards a people, that for so many ages had enjoyed the peculiar influences of the divine favour, and whose destruction at last so evidently justified the predictions of our Saviour, and made such immediate way for the honour and advancement of Christianity, we shall here relate.

V. The Jews, a stubborn and unquiet people, impatiently resented the tyranny of the Roman yoke, which seemed heavier to their necks than it did to other nations, because they looked upon themselves as a more free-born people, and were elated with those great charters and immunities which heaven had immediately conferred upon them. This made them willing to catch at any opportunity to re-assert themselves into their ancient liberty: a thing which they more unanimously attempted under the government of Cestius Florus,[o] whom Nero had sent to be procurator of that province: by whose intolerable oppressions and insolent cruelties, for two years together, nothing abated by prayers and importunities, and the solicitations of potent intercessors, their patience was tired out, and they broke out into rebellion. The fatal assault began first at Cæsarea,

[h] Joseph. de Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 14. s. 2. Egesip. de excid. Hierosol. l. ii. c. 14.

which instantly like lightning spread itself over the whole nation, till all places were full of blood and violence.[p] Florus, unable himself to deal with them, called in to his assistance Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria, who came from Antioch with an army, took Joppa and some other places, and sat down before Jerusalem; but after all was forced to depart, and indeed to fly with his whole army, leaving all his warlike instruments and provisions behind him. The news of this ill success was soon carried to Nero,[q] then residing in Achaia, who presently despatched Vespasian (a man of prudent conduct, experienced valour, the best commander of his time) to be general of the army. He, coming into Syria, united the Roman forces, fell into Galilee, burnt Gadara, and destroyed Jotapata, where Josephus[r] himself was taken prisoner. He pursued his conquests with an unwearied diligence, victory every where attending upon his sword, and was preparing to besiege Jerusalem,[s] when hearing of the distractions of Italy by the death of Nero, and the usurpations of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, he resolved for Rome, to free it from those unhappy encumbrances that were upon it; whose resolutions herein were so far applauded by the army, that they presently proclaimed him emperor: who, thereupon, hastened into Egypt, to secure that country; a place of so considerable importance to the empire.

VI. From Alexandria,[t] Vespasian remanded his son Titus back into Judea, to carry on the war; who thought no way quicker to bring it to a period than to attempt the capital city, to strike at Jerusalem itself; and, accordingly, put all things in readiness to besiege it. The state of Jerusalem[u] at this time was very sad. That place, whose honour and security once it was to be "a city at unity within itself,"[v] was now torn in pieces by intestine factions; and how unlikely is that kingdom long to stand, that is once "divided against itself?"[x] Simon the son of Giora, a bold and ambitious man, had possessed himself of the upper city: John, who headed the zealots, an insolent and ungovernable generation, commanded the lower parts, and the outskirts of the temple; the inner parts whereof were secured by Eleazar the son of Simon, who had drawn over a considerable

[p] Joseph. de bello Judaic. l. ii. c. 14. s. 5.
[q] Ibid. l. iii. c. 1.
[r] Ibid. l. iii. c 7. s. 8. Egesip. l. iii. c. 18.
[s] Joseph. ibid. l. iv. c. 9. s. 2.
[t] Ibid. c. 11. s. 5.
[u] Ibid. l. v. c. 1. s. 1. c. 3. s. 1.
[v] Ps. cxxii. 3.
[x] Matt. xii. 25.

number of the soldiers to his party; and all those mutually quarrelling with, and opposing one another. Titus with his army approaching, a little before the paschal solemnity, begirt the city, drawing it by degrees into a closer siege, he straitly blocked up all avenues and passages of escape, building a wall of thirty-nine furlongs,[y] which he strengthened with thirteen forts; whereby he prevented all possibility either of coming into, or going out of the city. And now was exactly accomplished what our Lord had some time since told them would come to pass, when "he beheld the city and wept over it, saying, if thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things that belong unto thy peace! but now they are hidden from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation."[z] The truth is, whoever would be at the pains to compare what our Lord has said[a] concerning this war and the sackage of Jerusalem, with the accounts given of them by Josephus, would find so just a correspondence between the prophecy and the success, as would tempt him to think that the historian had taken his measures as much from our Lord's predictions as from the event of things. But to proceed. Terms of mercy were offered upon surrender, but scornfully rejected, which exasperated the Roman army to fall on with greater fierceness and severity. And now God and man, heaven and earth, seemed to fight against them. Besides the Roman army without, and the irreconcilable factions and disorders within, a [b] famine (hastened by those vast multitudes that had flocked to the passover) raged so horribly within the city, that they took more care to prey upon one another, and to plunder their provisions, than how to defend themselves against the common enemy: thousands were starved for want of food, who died so fast that they were not capable of performing to them the last offices of humanity, but were forced to throw them upon common heaps; nay, were reduced to that extremity, that some offered violence to all the laws of nature, among whom was [c] Mary the daughter of Eleazar, who being undone

[y] Joseph. de bello Judaic. l. v. c. 12. s. 2.
[z] Luke xix. 41—44.
[a] Vide Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 7.
[b] Joseph. de bello Judaic. l. v. c. 12. s. 3. l. vi. c 3. s. 3.
[c] Ibid. s. 4.

by the soldiers, and no longer able to bear the force and rage of hunger, boiled her sucking child and eat him. So plainly had our Lord foretold "the daughters of Jerusalem," that "the days were coming, in the which they should say, blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck."[d]

VII. Titus went on with the siege, and finding that no methods, either of kindness or cruelty, would work upon this obstinate generation of men, gave order that all things should be made ready for a storm. Having gained the tower of Antonia, the Jews fled to the temple, which was hard by, the[e] out-gates and porches whereof were immediately set on fire; the Jews, like persons stupified and amazed, never endeavouring to quench it. Titus, the sweetness of whose nature ever inclined him to pity and compassion, was greatly desirous to have spared the people, and saved the temple. But all in vain: an obscure soldier threw a firebrand into the chambers that were about the temple, which presently took fire; and though the general ran and stormed, and commanded to put it out, yet so great was the clamour and confusion, that his orders could not be heard: and when they were it was too late, the conquering and triumphant flames prevailing in spite of all opposition, and making their way with so fierce a rage[f] as if they threatened to burn up Mount Zion to the very roots. So effectually did our Saviour's commination take place, who told his disciples, when they admired the stately and magnificent buildings of the temple, "Verily I say unto you, there shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down."[g] And that nothing might be wanting to verify our Lord's prediction, Turnus Rufus was commanded to plough up the very foundations of it. How sad a sight must it needs be to behold all things hurled into a mixture of blood, smoke, and flames! the Jews were slain like sheep or dogs, and many, to prevent the enemies' sword, voluntarily leaped into the fire; the[h] number of them that perished in this siege amounting to no less than eleven hundred thousand, besides ninety-seven thousand that were made slaves; the infinite multitudes that from all parts had flocked to the feast of the pass-

[d] Luke xxiii. 29. [e] Joseph. de bello Judaic. l. v. c. 4. s. 5, 6, &c.
[f] Ibid. c. 5. s. 1. [g] Matt. xxiv. 2. [h] Joseph. de bello Judaic. l. v. c. 9. s. 3.

over, and were by the Roman army crowded up within the city, rendering the account not improbable.

VIII. Such was the period of the Jewish church and state; thus fell Jerusalem, (by far the most eminent city not of Judea only, but of the whole East, as Pliny himself confesses,[i]) notwithstanding its antiquity, wealth, and strength, after it had stood from the time of David 1579 years. And memorable it is, that this fatal siege began a little before the passover, about that very time when they had so barbarously treated and put to death the Son of God: so exact a proportion does the divine justice sometimes observe in the retributions of its vengeance: a fate not only predicted by our Lord and his apostles, but lately presignified by immediate prodigies and signs from heaven.[k] A blazing comet, in the fashion of a sword, hung directly over the city for a whole year together. In the feast of unleavened bread, a little before the breaking out of the war, at nine of the clock of the night, a light suddenly shined out between the altar and the temple, as bright as if it had been noon-day. About the same time a heifer, as she was led to sacrifice, brought forth a lamb in the very midst of the temple. The east gate of the inner part of the temple, all of massy brass, and which twenty men could hardly shut, after it had been fast locked and barred was at night seen to open of its own accord. Chariots and armies were beheld in the air, all in their martial postures, and preparing to surround the city. At pentecost, when the priests entered into the inner temple, they first perceived a noise and motion, and immediately heard a voice that said, *Μεταβαίνωμεν ἐντεῦθεν*, "Let us depart hence." And four years before ever the war began, while all things were peaceable and secure, one Jesus, a plain country fellow, pronounced many dreadful woes against the temple, the city, and the people, wherein he continued, especially at festival times, notwithstanding all the cruelties used towards him for seven years together, when some made a shift to despatch him by a violent death. But, alas, an angel itself cannot stop men that are riding post towards their own destruction. So little will warnings, or threatenings, or miracles signify with them, whom heaven hath once given up to an incurable infatuation.[l]

[i] Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 14.

[k] Joseph. de bello Judaic. l. vi. c. 5. s. 3.

[l] Vide Joseph. ibid. s. 4.

IX. But it is high time to return and inquire, in the midst of this sad and calamitous state of things, what became of St. Simeon and the Christians of that place. And of them we find, that being timely warned by the caution which our Lord had given them, that "when they should see Jerusalem compassed with armies, and the abomination of desolation (that is the Roman army) standing in the holy place, they should then flee unto the mountains,"[m] betake themselves to some obscure place of refuge; and having been lately commanded by a particular revelation,[n] communicated to some pious and good men among them, (which, says Epiphanius,[o] was done by the ministry of an angel,) to leave Jerusalem, and go to Pella; they universally withdrew themselves, and seasonably retreated thither, as to a little Zoar from the flames of Sodom, and so not one perished in the common ruin. This Pella was a little town in Cœlo-Syria beyond Jordan, deriving its name probably from Pella a city of Macedonia, as being founded and peopled by the Macedonians of Alexander's army, who sat down in Asia. That its inhabitants were Gentiles is plain, in that the Jews,[p] under Alexander Jannæus their king, sacked it, because they would not receive the rites of their religion. And God, it is like, on purpose directed the Christians hither, that they might be out of the reach of the besom of destruction that was to sweep away the Jews wherever it came. Nor was it a less remarkable instance of the care and tenderness of the Divine Providence over them, that when Cestius Gallus had besieged Jerusalem, on a sudden he should unexpectedly break up the siege, at once giving them warning of their danger, and an opportunity to escape. How long Simeon and the church continued in this little sanctuary, and when they returned to Jerusalem, appears not: if I might conjecture, I should place their return about the beginning of Trajan's reign, when the fright being sufficiently over, and the hatred and severity of the Romans assuaged, they might come back with more safety. Certain it is, that they returned before Adrian's time;[q] who, forty-seven years after the devastation, coming to Jerusalem in order to its reparation,

[m] Matt. xxiv. 15, 16.

[n] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 5. Epiph. Hæres. xxix. c. 7. Hæres. xxx. c. 2.

[o] De Pond. et Mens. c. 15.

[p] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xiii. c. 15. s. 4.

[q] Epiph. de Pond. et Mens. c. 15.

found there a few houses, and a little church of Christians built upon Mount Sion, in that very place where that "upper room" was, into which the disciples went up when they returned from our Lord's ascension. Here the Christians who were returned from Pella kept their solemn assemblies; and were so renowned for the flourishing state of their religion, and the eminency of their miracles, that Aquila, the emperor's kinsman, and whom he had made governor and overseer of the rebuilding of the city, being convinced, embraced Christianity: but still pursuing his old magic and astrological studies, notwithstanding the frequent admonitions that were given him, he was cast out of the church; which he resented as so great an affront, that he apostatized to Judaism, and afterwards translated the Bible into Greek. But to return back to Simeon: confident we may be that he administered his province with all diligence and fidelity, in the discharge whereof God was pleased to preserve him as a person highly useful to his church, to a very great age, till the middle of Trajan's reign, when he was brought to give his last testimony to his religion, and that upon a very slight pretence.

X. The Roman emperors were infinitely jealous of their new established sovereignty, and of any that might seem to be corrivals with them, especially in Palestine and the Eastern parts. For an ancient and constant tradition (as appears, besides Josephus, both from Suetonius and Tacitus) had been entertained throughout the East, that out of Judea should arise a prince, that should be the great monarch of the world: which though Josephus, to ingratiate himself with the Romans, flatteringly applied to Vespasian, yet did not this quiet their minds, but that still they beheld all that were of the line of David with a jealous eye. This made Domitian,[r] Vespasian's son, resolve to destroy all that were of the blood royal of the house of Judah; upon which account two nephews of St. Jude, one of the brothers of our Lord, were brought before him, and despised by him for their poverty and meanness, as persons very unlikely to stand competitors for a crown. The very same indictment was brought against our aged bishop; for some of the sects of the Jews,[s] not able to bear his activity and zeal in the cause of his religion, and

[r] Chron. Alexandr. ad Ann. 1. Olympiad. 213. Ind. 15. Vespas. 5. eadem habet de Domitian ad Ann. 1. Olymp. 218. Ind. 5. Domit. 13.

[s] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 32.

finding nothing else to charge upon him, accused him to Atticus, at that time consular legate of Syria, for being of the posterity of the kings of Judah, and withal a Christian. Hereupon he was apprehended and brought before the proconsul, who commanded him for several days together to be racked with the most exquisite torments: all which he underwent with so composed a mind, so unconquerable a patience, that the proconsul and all that were present were amazed to see a person of so great age able to endure such and so many tortures: at last he was commanded to be crucified. He suffered in the one hundred and twentieth year of his age, and in the tenth year of Trajan's reign, Ann. Chr. 107, (the Alexandrine Chronicon[t] places it Traj. 7. Ann. Chr. 104, as appears by the consuls, though as doubtful of that, he places it again in the following year,) after he had sat bishop of Jerusalem (computing his succession from St. James's martyrdom) forty-three or forty-four years; Petavius[u] makes it no less than forty-seven; though Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, (probably by a mistake of the figure) assigns him but twenty-three, a longer proportion of time than a dozen of his immediate successors were able to make up: God probably lengthening out his life, that as a skilful and faithful pilot he might steer and conduct the affairs of that church in those dismal and stormy days.

[t] Anno 4. Olymp. 220. Ind. 1.

[u] Animadv. ad Epiph. Hæres. lxvi. p. 266.

THE LIFE OF SAINT IGNATIUS

BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.

His originals unknown. Called Theophorus, and why. The story of his being taken up into our Saviour's arms, refuted. His apostolic education. St. John's disciple. His being made bishop of Antioch. The eminency of that see. The order of his succession stated. His prudent government of that church. The tradition of his appointing antiphonal hymns by revelation. Trajan's persecuting the church at Antioch. His discourse with Ignatius. Ignatius's cruel usage. His sentence passed. His being transmitted to Rome: and why sent so far to his execution. His arrival at Smyrna, and meeting with St. Polycarp. His epistles to several churches. His coming to Troas, and epistles thence. His arrival at Porto Romano. Met on the way by the Christians at Rome. His earnest desire of martyrdom. His praying for the prosperity of the church. The time of his Passion. His being thrown to wild beasts. What kind of punishment that among the Romans. The collection of his remains, and their transportation to Antioch; and the great honours done to them. The great plenty of them in the church of Rome. Trajan's surceasing the persecution against the Christians. The dreadful earthquakes happening at Antioch. Ignatius's admirable piety. His general solicitude for the preservation and propagation of the Christian doctrine, as an apostle. His care, diligence, and fidelity as a bishop. His patience and fortitude as a martyr. His epistles. Polycarp's commendation of them.

I. FINDING nothing recorded concerning the country or parentage of this holy man, I shall not build upon mere fancy and conjecture. He is ordinarily styled, both by himself and others, Theophorus, which, though, like Justus, it be oft no more than a common epithet, yet is it sometimes used as a proper name. It is written according to the different accents, either *Θεοφόρος*, and then it notes a divine person, a man whose soul is full of God, and all holy and divine qualities, *ὁ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ περιφέρων*, as Ignatius himself is said to explain it; or *Θεόφορος*, and so in a passive signification it implies one that is born or carried by God. And in this latter sense he is said to have derived the title from our Lord's taking him up into his arms. For thus we are told, that he was that very child whom our

Saviour took into his arms,[a] and set in the midst of his disciples, as the most lively instance of innocency and humility. And this affirmed, (if number might carry it,) not only by the Greeks[b] in their public rituals, by Metaphrastes,[c] Nicephorus,[d] and others, but (as the primate of Armagh observes[e] from the manuscripts in his own possession) by two Syriac writers, more ancient than they. But how confidently or generally soever it be reported, the story at best is precarious and uncertain, not to say absolutely false and groundless. Sure I am St. Chrysostom[f] (who had far better opportunities of knowing than they) expressly affirms of Ignatius, that he never saw our Saviour, or enjoyed any familiarity or converse with him.

II. In his younger years he was brought up under apostolical institution: so Chrysostom tells us,[g] that he was intimately conversant with the apostles, educated and nursed up by them, every where at hand, and made partaker *ῥητῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτων*, both of their familiar discourses, and more secret and uncommon mysteries. Which though it is probable he means of his particular conversation with St. Peter and St. Paul, yet some of the forementioned authors, and not they only, but the Acts of his Martyrdom,[h] written, as is supposed, by some present at it, further assure us, that he was St. John's disciple. Being fully instructed in the doctrines of Christianity, he was, for his eminent parts, and the great piety of his life, chosen to be bishop of Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, and the most famous and renowned city of the East; not more remarkable among foreign writers for being the Oriental seat of the Roman emperors and their viceroys and governors, than it is in ecclesiastics for its eminent entertainment of the Christian faith, its giving the venerable title of Christians to the disciples of the holy Jesus, and St. Peter's first and peculiar residence in this place. Whence the synod of Constantinople,[i] assembled under Nectarius, in their synodical epistle to the western bishops, deservedly call it, "the most ancient and truly apostolic church of Antioch, in which the honourable name of Christians did first commence." In all which

[a] Mark ix. 36. Matt. xviii. 2, 3, 4.
[b] Menæon. Græcor. *Τῇ εἰκοστῇ τοῦ Δεκεμβρ.*
[c] Metaphr. ad Decembr. 20. s. 1. Gr. Lat. apud Coteler. vol. ii. p. 163.
[d] Niceph. Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 35.
[e] Annot. in Ignat. Act. p. 37.
[f] Homil. in S. Ignat. s. 4. vol. ii. p. 599.
[g] Ibid. s. 1. p. 593.
[h] Act. Ignat. p. 1. et 5. edit. Usser.
[i] Ap. Theodor. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 9.

respects it is frequently in the writings of the church by a proud kind of title styled Θεούπολις, or *the city of God.* That Ignatius was constituted bishop of this church, is allowed on all hands, though, as to the time and order of his coming to it, almost the same difficulties occur, which before did in Clemens's succession to the see of Rome, possibly not readily to be removed but by the same method of solution, easily granted in this case by Baronius himself,[k] and some other writers of note in that church. I shall not need to prove what is evident enough in itself, and plainly acknowledged by the ancients, that Peter and Paul planted Christianity in this city, and both concurred to the foundation of this church, the one applying himself to the Jews, the other to the Gentiles. And large enough was the vineyard to admit the joint endeavours of these two great planters of the gospel, it being a vast populous city, containing at that time, according to St. Chrysostom's computation, no less than two hundred thousand souls. But the apostles (who could not stay always in one place) being called off to the ministry of other churches, saw it necessary to substitute others in their room, the one resigning his trust to Euodius, the other to Ignatius. Hence in the Apostolic Constitutions,[l] Euodius is said to be ordained bishop of Antioch by St. Peter, and Ignatius by St. Paul; till Euodius dying, and the Jewish converts being better reconciled to the Gentiles, Ignatius succeeded in the sole care and presidency over that church, wherein he might possibly be afterwards confirmed by Peter himself. In which respect probably the author of the Alexandrine Chronicon meant it,[m] when he affirms that Ignatius was constituted bishop of Antioch by the apostles. By this means he may be said both immediately to succeed the apostle, as Origen,[n] Eusebius,[o] Athanasius,[p] and Chrysostom[q] affirm; and withal to be the next after Euodius, as St. Hierom,[r] Socrates,[s] Metaphrastes,[t] and others, place him. However, Euodius dying, and he being settled in it by the apostle's hands, might be justly said to succeed St. Peter; in which sense it is

[k] Ad Ann. 45. n. 14. vid. Ad. Martyr. Rom. Feb. 1.
[l] Lib. vii. c. 47.
[m] Ad. Ann. Tib. 19.
[n] Orig. Hom. vi. in Luc. vol. iii. p. 938.
[o] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 36.
[p] Athan. de Synod. Arim. et Seleuc. c. 47. vol. ii. par. i. p. 761.
[q] Chrysost. Hom. in S. Ignat. s. 4. vol. ii. p. 597.
[r] Hier. de script. in Ignat.
[s] Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 8.
[t] Metaphr. ap. Coteler. s. 1. vol. ii. p. 163.

that some of the ancients expressly affirm him to have received his consecration from St. Peter, *διὰ τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου Πέτρου δεξιᾶς τῆς ἀρχιεροσύνης τὴν χάριν ἐδέξατο*, says Theodoret;[u] and so their own historian relates it,[x] that Peter coming to Antioch, in his passage to Rome, and finding Euodius lately dead, committed the government of it to Ignatius, whom he made bishop of that place: though it will be a little difficult to reconcile the times to an agreement with that account.

III. Somewhat above forty years St. Ignatius continued in his charge at Antioch, (Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, assigns him but four years, the figure *μ* for forty being probably, through the carelessness of transcribers, slipped out of the account,) in the midst of very stormy and tempestuous times. But he[y] like a wise and prudent pilot sat at the stern, and declined the dangers that threatened them by his prayers and tears, his fastings and the constancy of his preaching, and those indefatigable pains he took among them; fearing lest any of the more weak and unsettled Christians might be overborne with the storms of persecution. Never did a little calm and quiet interval happen, but he rejoiced in the prosperity of the church: though as to himself he somewhat impatiently expected and longed for martyrdom, without which he accounted he could never perfectly attain to the love of Christ, nor fill up the duty and measures of a true disciple; which accordingly afterwards became his portion. Indeed, as to the particular acts of his government, nothing memorable is recorded of him in the antiquities of the church, more than what Socrates[z] relates, (by what authority, I confess, I know not,) that he saw a vision, wherein he heard the angels with alternate hymns celebrating the honour of the holy Trinity, in imitation whereof he instituted the way of antiphonal hymns in the church of Antioch, which thence spread itself over the whole Christian church. Whether this story was made on purpose to outvie the Arians, who were wont on the sabbaths and Lord's-days to sing alternate hymns in their congregations, with some tart reflections upon the orthodox, insomuch that Chrysostom was forced to introduce the same way of singing into the orthodox assemblies; or whether

[u] De Immutab. Dialog. 1. vol. iv. p. 49.
[x] Jo. Malel. Chron. l. x. ap. Usser. Not. in Epist. ad Antioch. p. 107.
[y] Act. Ignat. p. 1, 2. [z] Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 8.

it was really instituted by Ignatius, but afterwards grown into disuse, I will not say. Certain it is, that Flavianus, afterwards bishop of Antioch in the reign of Constantius, is said[a] to have been the first that thus established the quire, and appointed David's psalms to be sung by turns, which thence propagated itself to other churches. St. Ambrose was the first that brought it into the Western church, reviving (says the historian)[b] the ancient institution of Ignatius, long disused among the Greeks. But to return.

IV. It was about the year of Christ 107, when Trajan the emperor, swelled with his late victory over the Scythians and the Daci, about the ninth year of his reign, came to Antioch, to make preparation for the war which he was resolved to make upon the Parthians and Armenians. He entered the city with the pomps and solemnities of a triumph; and as his first câre usually was about the concernments of religion, he began presently to inquire into that affair. Indeed he looked[c] upon it as an affront to his other victories to be conquered by Christians; and therefore, to make this religion stoop, had already commenced a persecution against them in other parts of the empire, which he resolved to carry on here. St. Ignatius (whose solicitude for the good of his flock made him continually stand upon his guard) thinking it more prudent to go himself, than stay to be sent for, of his own accord presented himself to the emperor,[d] between whom there is said to have passed a large and particular discourse, the emperor wondering that he dared to transgress his laws, while the good man asserted his own innocency, and the power which God had given them over evil spirits, and that the gods of the Gentiles were no better than demons, there being but one supreme Deity, who made the world, and his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, who though crucified under Pilate, had yet destroyed him that had the power of sin, that is, the Devil, and would ruin the whole power and empire of the demons, and tread it under the feet of those who carried God in their hearts. The issue was, that he was cast into prison, where (if what the Greek rituals[e] and some others report be true) he was, for the constancy and resolution of his profession, subjected to the most severe and merciless torments, whipped with *plumbatæ*, scourges

[a] Theodor. Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 24.
[b] Sigebert. Chr. ad Ann. Chr. 387.
[c] Act. Ignat. p. 2.
[d] Ibid. p. 3.
[e] Τῇ ἡμέρ. κ'. μην. τοῦ Δεκεμβρ.

with leaden bullets at the end of them, forced to hold fire in his hands, while his sides were burnt with papers dipped in oil, his feet stood upon live coals, and his flesh was torn off with burning pincers. Having by an invincible patience overcome the malice and cruelty of his tormentors, the emperor pronounced the final[f] sentence upon him, that being incurably overrun with superstition, he should be carried bound by soldiers to Rome, and there thrown as a prey to wild beasts. The good man heartily rejoiced at the fatal decree; "I thank thee, O Lord, (said he,) that thou hast condescended thus perfectly to honour me with thy love, and hast thought me worthy, with thy apostle Paul, to be bound with iron chains." With that he cheerfully embraced his chains, and having fervently prayed for his church, and with tears recommended it to the divine care and providence, he delivered up himself into the hands of his keepers, that were appointed to transport him to the place of execution.

V. It may justly seem strange, and it was that which puzzled the great Scaliger,[g] why he should be sent so vast a way from Antioch in Syria to be martyred at Rome: whereof these probable accounts may be rendered. First, it was usual with the governors of provinces, where the malefactors were more than ordinarily eminent, either for the quality of their persons, or the nature of their crimes, to send them to Rome, that their punishment might be made exemplary in the eye of the world. Secondly, his enemies were not willing he should suffer at home, where he was too much honoured and esteemed already, and where his death would but raise him into a higher veneration with the people, and settle their minds in a firmer belief of that faith which he had taught them, and which they then saw him sealing with his blood. Thirdly, by so long a journey, they hoped that in all places where he came, men would be more effectually terrified from embracing that religion, which they saw so much distasted and resented by the emperor, and the profession whereof could not be purchased but at so dear a rate; besides the probability, that by this usage the constancy of Ignatius himself might be broken, and he forced to yield. Fourthly, they designed to make the good man's punishment as severe and heavy as they could, and therefore so contrived it, that there might be a concurrence of circumstances to render it

[f] Act. Martyr. S. Ignat. s. 2. [g] Animadv. ad Euseb. Chron. p. 207. ed. 1658.

bitter and grievous to him. His great age, being then probably above fourscore years old, the vast length and tediousness of the journey, (which was not a little increased by the *μακρότεροι διαύλοι τοῦ δρόμου*, as St. Chrysostom observes,[h] their going the farthest way about, for they went not the direct passage to Rome, but by infinite windings diverted from place to place,) the trouble and difficulty of the passage, bad at all times, but much worse now in winter, the want of all necessary conveniencies and accommodations for so aged and infirm a person, the rude and merciless usage of his keepers, who treated him with all ruggedness and inhumanity: "From Syria even to Rome both by sea and land I fight with beasts, night and day I am chained to ten leopards, (which is my military guard,) who the kinder I am to them, are the more cruel and fierce to me," as himself complains.[i] Besides, what was dearer to him than all this, his credit and reputation might be in danger to suffer with him, seeing at so great a distance the Romans were generally more likely to understand him to suffer as a malefactor for some notorious crime, than as a martyr for religion; and this, Metaphrastes assures us,[k] was one particular end of his sending thither. Not to say that, beyond all this, the Divine Providence (which knows how to bring good out of evil, and to overrule the designs of bad men to wise and excellent purposes) might the rather permit it to be so, that the leading so great a man so far in triumph, might make the faith more remarkable and illustrious, that he might have the better opportunity to establish and confirm the Christians, who flocked to him from all parts as he came along;[l] and by giving them the example of a generous virtue, arm them with the stronger resolution to die for their religion, and especially that he might seal the truth of his religion at Rome, where his death might be *διδασκάλιος τῆς εὐσεβείας*, (as Chrysostom speaks,[m]) a tutor of piety, and teach *κἀκείνην φιλοσοφεῖν*, the city that was so famous for arts and wisdom, a new and better philosophy than they had learned before. To all which may be added, that this was done not by the provincial governor, who had indeed power of executing

[h] Homil. in S. Ignat. s. 4. vol. ii. p. 598.
[i] Epist. ad Rom. s. 5. et ap. Euseb. l. iii. c. 36.
[k] Martyr. S. Ignat. s. 8. apud Coteler. vol. ii. p. 165.
[l] Vid. Chrysost. Hom. in S. Ignat. s. 4. vol. ii. p. 598. [m] Ibid.

capital punishments within his own province, (which seems to have been the main ground of Scaliger's scruple,) but immediately by the emperor himself, whose pleasure and command it was that he should be sent to Rome; whither we must now follow him to his martyrdom: in the account whereof we shall for the main keep to the Acts of it, written in all probability by Philo and Agathopus, the companions of his journey, and present at his passion; two ancient versions whereof the incomparable bishop Usher first recovered and published to the world.

VI. Being consigned to a guard of ten soldiers,[n] he took his leave of his beloved Antioch, (and a sad parting no doubt there was between him and his people, who were to see his face no more,) and was conducted on foot to Seleucia, a port-town of Syria, about sixteen miles distant thence, the very place whence Paul and Barnabas set sail for Cyprus. Here going aboard, after a tedious and difficult voyage they arrived at Smyrna, a famous city of Ionia, where they were no sooner set on shore, but he went to salute St. Polycarp, bishop of the place, his old fellow-pupil under St. John the Apostle. Joyful was the meeting of these two holy men: St. Polycarp being so far from being discouraged, that he rejoiced in the other's chains, and earnestly pressed him to a firm and final perseverance. Hither came in the country round about, especially the bishops, presbyters, and deacons of the Asian churches, to behold so venerable a sight, to partake of the holy martyr's prayers and blessing, and to encourage him to hold on to his consummation. To requite whose kindness, and for their further instruction and establishment in the faith, he wrote letters[o] from hence to several churches: one to the Ephesians, wherein he commends Onesimus their bishop for his singular charity; another to the Magnesians, a city seated upon the river Meander, which he sent by Damus their bishop, Bassus and Apollonius presbyters, and Sotio deacon of that church; a third to the Trallians, by Polybius their bishop, wherein he particularly presses them to subjection to their spiritual guides, and to avoid those pestilent heretical doctrines that were then risen in the church; a fourth he wrote to the Christians at Rome, to acquaint them with his present state, and passionate desire not to be hindered in that

[n] Act. Ignat. p. 5. [o] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 36.

course of martyrdom, which he was now hastening to accomplish.

VII. His keepers, a little impatient of their stay at Smyrna, set sail for Troas, a noted city of the Lesser Phrygia, not far from the ruins of the ancient Troy: where, at his arrival, he was not a little refreshed with the news that he received of the persecution ceasing in the church of Antioch. Hither several churches sent their messengers to visit and salute him, and hence he despatched two epistles; one to the church at Philadelphia, to press them to love and unity, and to stand fast in the truth and simplicity of the gospel; the other to the church of Smyrna, from whence he lately departed; which he sent, as also the former, by Burrhus the deacon, whom they and the Ephesians had sent to wait upon him: and together with that (as Eusebius informs us[p]) he wrote privately to St. Polycarp, particularly recommending to him the care and oversight of the church of Antioch, for which, as a vigilant pastor, he could not but have a tender and very dear regard; though very learned men (but certainly without any just reason) think this not to have been a distinct epistle from the former, but jointly directed and intended to St. Polycarp and his church of Smyrna. Which however it be, they conclude it as certain that the Epistle to St. Polycarp, now extant, is none of it, as in which nothing of the true temper and spirit of Ignatius does appear; while others of great note not improbably contend for it as genuine and sincere. From Troas they sailed to Neapolis, a maritime town of Macedonia; thence to Philippi, a Roman colony, (the very same journey which St. Paul had gone before him,[q]) where (as St. Polycarp intimates in his epistle to that church[r]) they were entertained with all imaginable kindness and courtesy, and conducted forwards in their journey. Hence they passed on foot through Macedonia and Epirus, till they came to Epidamnum, a city of Dalmatia; where again taking ship they sailed through the Adriatic, and arrived at Rhegium, a port-town in Italy; whence they directed their course through the Tyrrhenian sea to Puteoli, Ignatius desiring (if it might have been granted) thence to have gone by land, that he might have traced the same way by which St. Paul went to Rome. After a day and a night's stay at Puteoli, a prosperous wind quickly carried them

[p] Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 36. [q] Acts xvi. 11, 12. [r] Epist. Polycarp. ad Phil. s. 1.

to the Roman port, the great harbour and station for their navy, built near Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber, about sixteen miles from Rome; whither the holy martyr longed to come, as much desirous to be at the end of his race, as his keepers, weary of their voyage, were to be at the end of their journey.

VIII. The Christians at Rome, daily expecting his arrival, were come out to meet and entertain him, and accordingly received him with an equal resentment of joy and sorrow. Glad they were of the presence and company of so great and good a man, but quickly found their joy allayed with the remembrance, how soon, and by how severe a death, he was to be taken from them: and when some of them did but intimate, that possibly the people might be taken off from desiring his death, he expressed a pious indignation, entreating them to cast no rubs in his way, nor do any thing that might hinder him, now he was hastening to his crown. Being conducted to Rome, he was presented to the prefect of the city; and, as it is probable, the emperor's letters concerning him were delivered. In the mean time, while things were preparing for his martyrdom, he and the brethren that resorted to him improved their time to pious purposes; he prayed with them, and for them, heartily recommended the state of the church to the care and protection of our blessed Saviour, and earnestly solicited Heaven, that it would stop the persecution that was begun, and bless Christians with a true love and charity towards one another. That his punishment might be the more pompous and public, one of their solemn festivals, the time of their *Saturnalia*, and that part of it when they celebrated their *sigillaria*, was pitched on for his execution; at which times they were wont to entertain the people with the bloody conflicts of the gladiators, and the hunting of and fighting with wild beasts. Accordingly, on the 13th of the kalends of January, that is, December 20, he was brought out into the amphitheatre: and according to his own fervent desire, that he might have no other grave but the bellies of wild beasts, the lions were let loose upon him; whose roaring alarm he entertained with no other concernment, than that now, as God's own corn, he should be ground between the teeth of these wild beasts, and become white bread for his heavenly Master. The lions were not long doing their work, but quickly despatched their meal, and left nothing but what they could not well devour,

a few hard and solid bones. This throwing of persons to wild beasts was accounted among the Romans, *inter summa supplicia*,[s] and was never used but for very capital offences, and towards the vilest and most despicable malefactors, under which rank they beheld the Christians, who were so familiarly destined to this kind of death, that, (as Tertullian tells us,[t]) upon any trifling and frivolous pretence, if a famine or an earthquake did but happen, the common outcry was, *Christianos ad leones*, "away with the Christians to the lions."

IX. Among other Christians that were mournful spectators of this tragic scene, were the deacons I mentioned, who had been the companions of his journey, who bore not the least part in the sorrows of that day. And that they might not return home with nothing but the account of so sad a story, they gathered up the bones which the wild beasts had spared,[u] and transported them to Antioch, where they were joyfully received, and honourably entombed in the cemetery without the gate that leads to Daphne: a passage which Chrysostom, according to his rhetorical vein, elegantly amplifies as the great honour and treasure of that place. From hence, in the reign of Theodosius,[x] they were by his command, with mighty pomp and solemnity, removed to the Tychæon within the city, a temple heretofore dedicated to the public genius of the city, but now consecrated to the memory of the martyr. And for their translation afterwards to Rome, and the miracles said to be done by them, they that are further curious may inquire; for, indeed, I am not now at leisure for these things: but I can direct the reader to one[y] that will give him very punctual and particular accounts of them, and in what places the several parcels of his reliques are bestowed; no less than five churches in Rome enriched with them, besides others in Naples, Sicily, France, Flanders, Germany, and indeed where not. And verily but that some men have a very happy faculty at doing wonders by multiplication, a man would be apt to wonder how a few bones (and they were not many which the lions spared) could be able to serve so many several

[s] Paul. JC. Sent. lib. v. Tit. 23. l. 3. s. 5. ff. ad leg. Cornel. de Sicar. et Venef.

[t] Apolog. c. 40.

[u] Act. Ignat. p. 8. ed. Usser. Metaphr. Martyr. S. Ignat. s. 24. ap. Coteler. vol. ii. p. 169. Men. Græc. Τῇ κθ'. τοῦ Ἰανναρ. Hieron. de Script. in Ignat.

[x] Euagr. Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 16.

[y] Bolland. ad diem 1. Febr.

churches. I could likewise tell him a long story of the various travels and donations of St. Ignatius's head, and by what good fortune it came at last to the Jesuits' college at Rome, where it is richly enshrined, solemnly and religiously worshipped, but that, I am afraid, my reader would give me no thanks for my pains.

X. About this time, or a little before, while Trajan was yet at Antioch, he stopped, or at least mitigated the persecution against Christians: for having had an account from Pliny[z] the proconsul of Bithynia (whom he had employed to that purpose) concerning the innocency and simplicity of the Christians, that they were a harmless and inoffensive generation; and lately received a letter from Tiberianus[a] governor of *Palestina Prima*, wherein he told him that he was wearied out in executing the laws against the Galilæans, who crowded themselves in such multitudes to execution, that he could neither by persuasion nor threatenings keep them from owning themselves to be Christians, further praying his majesty's advice in that affair. Hereupon he gave command, that no inquisition should be made after the Christians, though if any of them offered themselves, execution should be done upon them. So that the fire, which had hitherto flamed and burnt out, began now to be extinguished, and only crept up and down in private corners. There are that tell us,[b] that Trajan, having heard a full account of Ignatius and his sufferings, and how undauntedly he had undergone that bitter death, repented of what he had done, and was particularly moved to mitigate and relax the persecution: whereby (as Metaphrastes observes) not only Ignatius's life, but his very death became πολλῶν πρόξενος ἀγαθῶν, the procurer of great peace and prosperity, and the glory and establishment of the Christian faith. Some not improbably conceive, that the severe judgments which happened not long after, might have a peculiar influence to dispose the emperor's mind to more tenderness and pity for the remainder of his life. For during his abode at Antioch, there were dreadful and unusual earthquakes, fatal to

[z] Epist. 97. l. x. Euseb. l. iii. c. 34. J. Malel. Chron. l. xi. ap. Usser. not. in Ignat. Epist. p. 43.

[a] Extat ap. Jo. Malel. ap. Usser. Append. Ignat. p. 9. vid. Excerpt. ex Jo. Antioch. à Val. edit. p. 818.

[b] Metaphr. Martyr. Ignat. s. 27. apud Coteler. vol. ii. p. 169.

other places, but which fell most heavy upon Antioch,[c] at that time filled more than ordinary with a vast army and confluence of people from all parts of the world. Among thousands that died, and far greater numbers that were maimed and wounded, Pedo the consul lost his life; and Trajan himself, had he not escaped out at a window, had undergone the same fate: accidents which I doubt not prepared his mind to a more serious consideration and regard of things. Though these calamities happened not till some years after Ignatius's death.

XI. Whether these judgments were immediate instances of the divine displeasure for the severity used against the Christians, and particularly for their cruelty to Ignatius, I will not say. Certain it is, that the Christian church had a mighty loss in so useful and excellent a person. For he was a good man, one in whose breast the true spirit of religion did eminently dwell; a man of very moderate and mortified affections: in which sense he doubtless intended that famous saying, so much celebrated by the ancients, *Ο ΕΜΟΣ ΕΡΩΣ ΕΣΤΑΥΡΩΤΑΙ*, "my love is crucified;" that is, (for to that purpose he explains it in the very words that follow,) his appetites and desires were crucified to the world, and all the lusts and pleasures of it. We may with St. Chrysostom[d] consider him in a threefold capacity, as an apostle, a bishop, and a martyr. As an apostle, (in the larger acceptation of the word, he being *θρόνων διάδοχος τῶν ἀποστόλων*, as the Greek offices style him,[e] "the immediate successor of the apostles in their see,") he was careful to diffuse and propagate the genuine doctrine which he had received of the apostles, and took a kind of oecumenical care of all the churches; even in his passage to Rome, he surveyed *τὰς κατὰ πόλιν παροικίας*, as Eusebius tells us,[f] the dioceses, or churches, that belonged to all the cities whither he came; confirming them by his sermons and exhortations, and directing epistles to several of the principal, for their further order and establishment in the faith. As a bishop, he was a diligent, faithful, and industrious pastor, infinitely careful of his charge; which though so exceedingly vast and numerous, he prudently instructed, governed, and

[c] Dio. Cass. Hist. Rom. l. 68. et Xiphil. in vit. Traj. p. 249, 250, 251. Jo. Malel. Chron. l. x. ap. Usser. not. in Ignat. Epist. p. 9.

[d] Homil. in S. Ignat. s. l. vol. ii. p. 593.

[e] Men. Græc. *τῇ κ'. τοῦ Δεκεμβρ.*

[f] Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 36.

superintended, and that in the midst of ticklish and troublesome times, above forty years together. He had a true and unchangeable love for his people, and when ravished from them in order to his martyrdom, there was not any church to whom he wrote,[g] but he particularly begged their prayers to God for his church at Antioch, and of some of them desired that they would send θεοπρεσβευτὴν, a divine ambassador thither on purpose to comfort them, and to congratulate their happy deliverance from the persecution. And because he knew that the prosperity of the church and the good of souls were no less undermined by heresy from within, than assaulted by violence and persecution from without, he had a peculiar eye to that, and took all occasions of warning the church to beware of heretics and seducers, τὰ θηρία τὰ ἀνθρωπόμορφα, as he styles them;[h] those beasts in the shape of men, whose wild notions and brutish manners began even then to embase religion, and corrupt the simplicity of the faith. Indeed he duly filled up all the measures of a wise governor, and an excellent guide of souls; and St. Chrysostom[i] runs through the particular characters of the bishop delineated by St. Paul, and finds them all accomplished and made good in him; with so generous a care, (says he,[k]) so exact a diligence did he preside over the flock of Christ, even to the making good what our Lord describes, ὡς μέγιστον ὅρον καὶ κανόνα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, as the utmost pitch and line of episcopal fidelity, "to lay down his life for the sheep;"[l] and this he did with all courage and fortitude; which is the last consideration we shall remark concerning him.

XII. As a martyr he gave the highest testimony to his fidelity, and to the truth of that religion which he both preached and practised. He gloried in his sufferings as his honour and his privilege, and looked upon his chains, τοὺς πνευματικοὺς μαργαρίτας, he calls them,[m] as his jewels and his ornaments: he was raised above either the love or fear of the present state, and could with as much ease and freedom (says Chrysostom[n]) lay

[g] Epist. ad. Eph. s. 21. ad Magnes. s. 14. ad Trallian. s. 13. ad Rom. s. 9. ad Philadelph. s. 10. ad Smyrn. s. 11.

[h] Epist. ad Smyrn. s. 4. et Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 36.

[i] Homil. in S. Ignat. s. 2. vol. ii. p. 594.

[k] Ibid. s. 1. p. 593.

[l] John xi. 14.

[m] Epist. ad Eph. s. 11.

[n] Homil. in S. Ignat. s. 1. vol. ii. p. 593.

down his life, as another man could put off his clothes. The truth is, his soul was strangely inflamed with a desire of martyrdom; he wished every step of his journey to meet with the wild beasts that were prepared for him, and tells the Romans,[o] he desired nothing more than they might presently do his work; that he would invite and court them speedily to devour him, and if he found them backward, as they had been towards others, he would provoke and force them. And though the death he was to undergo was most savage and barbarous, and dressed up in the most horrid and frightful shapes, enough to startle the firmest resolution, yet could they make no impression, *ἐπὶ τὴν στερῤῥᾶν καὶ ἀδαμάντινον ψυχὴν*, (as the Greeks say of him,[p]) upon his impregnable adamantine mind, any more than the dashes of a wave upon a rock of marble; "Let the fire (said he[q]) and the cross, the assaults of wild beasts, the breaking of bones, cutting of limbs, battering the whole body in pieces, yea and all the torments which the Devil can invent come upon me, so I may but attain to be with Jesus Christ;" professing he thought it much better to die for Christ, than to live and reign the sole monarch of the world; expressions certainly of a mighty zeal, and a divine passion wound up to its highest note. And yet after all, this excellent person was humble to the lowest step of abasure: he oft professes[r] that he looked upon himself as an abortive, and the very least of the faithful in the whole church of Antioch; and that though it was his utmost ambition, yet he did not know whether he was worthy to suffer for religion. I might, in the last place, enter into a discourse concerning his epistles, (the true indices of the piety and divine temper of his mind,) those seven I mean, enumerated and quoted by Eusebius, and collected by St. Polycarp, as himself expressly testifies;[s] but shall forbear, despairing to offer any thing considerable after so much has been said by learned men about them: only observing, that in the exceptions to the argument from St. Polycarp's testimony, little more is said even by those who have managed it to the best advantage, than what might be urged

[o] Epist. ad Rom. s. 5. et apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 36.
[p] Men. Græc. *τῇ κ'. τοῦ Δεκεμβρ.*
[q] Epist. ad Rom. s. 5. et ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 36.
[r] Epist. ad Eph. s. 21. ad Rom. s. 9. ad Trall. s. 13.
[s] Epist. Polycarp. p. 23. edit. Usser. et ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 36.

against the most genuine writing in the world. I add St. Polycarp's character of these epistles,[t] whereby he recommends them as highly useful and advantageous, that "they contain in them instructions and exhortations to faith and patience, and whatever is necessary to build us up in the religion of our Lord and Saviour."

His writings.

Genuine.		*Spurious.*	
Ad Ephesios Epistola	1.	Ad Mariam Cassobolitam	1.
Ad Magnesianos	1.	Ad Tarsenses	1.
Ad Trallianos	1.	Ad Antiochenos	1.
Ad Romanos	1.	Ad Philippenses	1.
Ad Philadelphenos	1.	Ad Heronem	1.
Ad Smyrnæos	1.	Ad B. Virg. Mariam	1.
Doubtful.		Ad Joannem Apostolum	2.
Epistola ad Polycarpum.			

[t] Epist. Polycarp. p. 23. edit. Usser.

THE LIFE OF SAINT POLYCARP

BISHOP OF SMYRNA.

The place of his nativity. The honour and eminency of Smyrna. His education under St. John. By him constituted bishop of Smyrna. Whether the same with the bishop to whom St. John committed the young man. St. Polycarp the angel of the church of Smyrna mentioned in the Apocalypse. Ignatius's arrival at Smyrna. His letters to that church, and to St. Polycarp. His journey to Rome about the Quartodeciman controversy. The time of it inquired into. Anicetus's succession to the see of Rome. His reception there by Anicetus. Their mutual kindness notwithstanding the difference. His stout opposing heretics at Rome. His sharp treatment of Marcion, and mighty zeal against those early corrupters of the Christian doctrine. Irenæus's particular remarks of St. Polycarp's actions. The persecution under M. Antoninus. The time of Polycarp's martyrdom noted. The Acts of it written by the church of Smyrna: their great esteem and value. St. Polycarp sought for. His martyrdom foretold by a dream. His apprehension. Conducted to Smyrna. Irenarchæ, who. Polycarp's rude treatment by Herodes. His being brought before the proconsul. Christians refused to swear by the emperor's genius, and why. His pious and resolute answers. His slighting the proconsul's threatenings. His sentence proclaimed. Asiarchæ, who. Preparation for his burning. His prayer before his death. Miraculously preserved in the fire. Despatched with a sword. The care of the Christians about his remains: this far from a superstitious veneration. Their annual meeting at the place of his martyrdom. His great age at his death. The day of his passion. His tomb, how honoured at this day. The judgments happening to Smyrna after his death. The faith and patience of the primitive Christians noted out of the preface to the Acts of his Martyrdom. His Epistle to the Philippians. Its usefulness. Highly valued and publicly read in the ancient church. The epistle itself.

I. Saint Polycarp was born towards the latter end of Nero's reign, or it may be a little sooner, his great age at the time of his death, with some other circumstances, rendering it highly probable, if not certain. Uncertain it is where he was born; and I see no sufficient reason to the contrary, why we may not fix his nativity at Smyrna, an eminent city of Ionia in the Lesser Asia, the first of the seven that entered their claim of being the birthplace of the famous Homer;[a] in memory whereof they had a

[a] Strab. Geograph. l. xiv. p. 956.

library, and a four-square portico, called *Homereum*, with a temple and the statue of Homer adjoining to it, and used a sort of brass coin, which they called Ὁμηρεῖον, after his name, and probably with his image stamped upon it. A place it was of great honour and renown, and has not only very magnificent titles heaped upon it by the writers of those times, but in several ancient inscriptions, set up by the public order of the senate, not long after the time of Adrian, it is styled, "the chief city of Asia, both for beauty and greatness, the most splendid, the metropolis of Asia, and the ornament of Ionia."[b] But it had a far greater and more honourable privilege to glory in, if it was (as we suppose) the place of St. Polycarp's nativity, however of his education, the seat of his episcopal care and charge, and the scene of his tragedy and martyrdom. The Greeks, in their Menæon,[c] report that he was educated at the charge of a certain noble matron, (whose name we are told was Callisto,) a woman of great piety and charity, who, when she had exhausted all her granaries in relieving the poor, had them suddenly filled again by St. Polycarp's prayers. The circumstances whereof are more particularly related by Pionius (who suffered, if, which I much question, it was the same, under the Decian persecution) to this effect.[d] Callisto, warned by an angel in a dream, sent and redeemed Polycarp (then but a child) of some who sold him, brought him home, took care of his education, and finding him a youth of ripe and pregnant parts, as he grew up, made him the major-domo and steward of her house; whose charity it seems he dispensed with a very liberal hand, insomuch that during her absence he had emptied all her barns and store-houses to the uses of the poor. For which being charged by his fellow-servants at her return, she not knowing then to what purpose he had employed them, called for the keys, and commanded him to resign his trust, which was no sooner done, but at her entrance in, she found all places full, and in as good condition as she had left them, which his prayers and intercession with Heaven had again replenished. As indeed Heaven can be sometimes content rather to work a miracle, than charity shall suffer and fare the worse

[b] Marmor. Oxon. ii. p. 47. Eadem habet Marm. lxxviii. p. 129. cxliii. p. 277. Append. xv. p. 296.

[c] Τῇ κγ'. τοῦ μην. τοῦ Φέβρναρ.

[d] Pion. vit. S. Polycarp. ex MS. Græc. apud Bolland. Jan. 26.

for its kindness and bounty. In his younger years he is said to have been instructed in the Christian faith by Bucolus, whom the same Menæon elsewhere informs us,[e] St. John had consecrated bishop of Smyrna: however, authors of more unquestionable credit and ancient date tell us,[f] that he was St. John's disciple; and not his only, but as Irenæus,[g] who was his scholar, (followed herein by St. Hierom,) assures us, he was taught by the apostles, and familiarly conversed with many who had seen our Lord in the flesh.

II. Bucolus, the vigilant and industrious bishop of Smyrna, being dead, (by whom St. Polycarp was, as we are told,[h] made deacon and catechist of that church, an office which he discharged with great diligence and success), Polycarp was ordained in his room, according to Bucolus's own prediction, who, as the Greeks report,[i] had in his lifetime foretold that he should be his successor. He was constituted by St. John, say the ancients generally;[k] though Irenæus,[l] followed herein by the Chronicle of Alexandria,[m] affirms it to have been done by the apostles, whether any of the apostles besides St. John were then alive, or whether he means apostolic persons (commonly styled apostles in the writings of the church) who joined with St. John in the consecration. Eusebius[n] says that Polycarp was familiarly conversant with the apostles, and received the government of the church of Smyrna from those who had been eye-witnesses and ministers of our Lord. It makes not a little for the honour of St. Polycarp, and argues his mighty diligence and solicitude for the good of souls, that (as we shall note more anon) Ignatius passing to his martyrdom, wrote to him, and particularly recommended to him the inspection and oversight of his church at Antioch, knowing him (says Eusebius[o]) to be truly an apostolical man, and being assured that he would use his utmost care and fidelity in that matter. The author[p] of the

[e] Τῇ στ'. τοῦ μην. τοῦ Φέβρυαρ.

[f] Act. Ignat. p. 5. Hieron. de Script. in Polycarp. Euseb. Chron. Olymp. 219. A. D. 99.

[g] Adv. Hæres. l. iii. c. 3. s. 4. et ap. Euseb. l. iv. c. 14.

[h] Pion. c. 3. n. 12. apud Bolland. Jan. 26. [i] Men. κγ'. του μην. τοῦ Φέβρυαρ.

[k] Tertull. de præscript. Hæret. c. 32. Hieron. de script. in Polycarp. vid. Suid. in voc. Πολυκαρπ. Niceph. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 2. Martyr. Rom. ad 26. Jan.

[l] Adv. Hæres. l. iii. c. 3. s. 4.

[m] Olymp. 224. l. Anton. 21. [n] Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 36. [o] Ibid.

[p] Ad Ann. l. Olympiad. 220. Indict. 13. Ann. Traj. 4.

Alexandrian Chronicle tells us, that it was the bishop of Smyrna (who could not well be any other than St. Polycarp) to whom St. John committed the tutorage and education of the young man, whom he took up in his visitation, who ran away, and became captain of a company of loose and debauched highwaymen, and was afterwards reduced and reclaimed by that apostle. But seeing Clemens Alexandrinus, who relates the story, sets down neither the name of the bishop nor the city, though he confesses there were some that made mention of it,[q] nor is this circumstance taken notice of by any other ancient writer, nor that bishop's neglecting of his charge well consistent with St. Polycarp's care and industry, I shall leave the story as I find it. Though it cannot be denied but that Smyrna was near to Ephesus, as St. Clemens says that city also was, and that St. John seems to have had a more than ordinary regard to that church, it being next Ephesus, the first of those seven famous Asian churches, to whom he directed his epistles, and St. Polycarp at this time bishop of it: for that he was that angel of the church of Smyrna, to whom that apocalyptical epistle was sent, is not only highly probable, but by a learned man put past all question.[r] I must confess that the character and circumstances ascribed by St. John to the angel of that church seem very exactly to agree with Polycarp, and with no other bishop of that church (about those times especially) that we read of in the history of the church. And whoever compares the account St. Polycarp's martyrdom, with the notices and intimations which the apocalypst there gives of that person's sufferings and death, will find the prophecy and the event suit together. That which may seem to make most against it, is the long time of his presidency over that see: seeing by this account he must sit at least seventy-four years bishop of that church, from the latter end of Domitian's reign (when the Apocalypse was written) to the persecution under M. Aurelius, when he suffered. To which no other solution needs be given, than that his great, nay extreme age at the time of his death renders it not at all improbable; especially when we find, several ages after, that Remigius, bishop of Rheims, sat seventy-four years bishop of that place.

III. It was not many years after St. John's death, when the persecution under Trajan began to be reinforced, wherein the

[q] Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 23. [r] Usser. Prolegom. ad Ignat. Epist. c. 2.

eastern parts had a very large share. Ann. Chr. 107, Ignatius was condemned by the emperor at Antioch, and sentenced to be transported to Rome in order to his execution. In his voyage thither he put in at Smyrna, to salute and converse with Polycarp; these holy men mutually comforting and encouraging each other, and conferring together about the affairs of the church. From Smyrna Ignatius and his company sailed to Troas, whence he sent back an epistle to the church of Smyrna; wherein he endeavours to fortify them against the errors of the times which had crept in amongst them, especially against those who undermined our Lord's humanity, and denied his coming in the flesh, affirming him to have suffered only in an imaginary and fantastic body: an opinion (which as it deserved) he severely censures, and strongly refutes. He further presses them to a due observance and regard of their bishop, and those spiritual guides and ministers which, under him, were set over them; and that they would despatch a messenger on purpose to the church of Antioch, to congratulate that peace and tranquillity which then began to be restored to them. Besides this he wrote particularly to St. Polycarp, whom he knew to be a man of an apostolic temper, a person of singular faithfulness and integrity, recommending to him the care and superintendency of his disconsolate church of Antioch. In the epistle itself, as extant at this day, there are many short and useful rules and precepts of life, especially such as concern the pastoral and episcopal office. And here again he renews his request concerning Antioch, that a messenger might be sent from Smyrna to that church, and that St. Polycarp would write to other churches to do the like; a thing which he would have done himself, had not his hasty departure from Troas prevented him. And more than this we find not concerning Polycarp for many years after, till some unhappy differences in the church brought him upon the public stage.

IV. It happened that the quartodeciman controversy about the observation of Easter began to grow very high between the Eastern and Western churches, each standing very stiffly upon their own way, and justifying themselves by apostolical practice and tradition. That this fire might not break out into a greater flame, St. Polycarp[s] undertakes a journey to Rome to interpose

[s] Iren. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 14.

with those who were the main supports and champions of the opposite party, and gave life and spirit to the controversy. Though the exact time of his coming hither cannot precisely be defined, yet will it in a great measure depend upon Anicetus's succession to that see, in whose time he came thither. Now evident it is that almost all the ancient catalogues place him before Soter, and next to Pius, whom he succeeded. This succession Eusebius[t] places Ann. Chr. 154, a computation certainly much truer than that of Baronius, who places it in the year 167, and consonantly to this the Chronicle of Alexandria[u] places St. Polycarp's coming to Rome Ann. Chr. 158, Anton. Imp. 21. It is true indeed that in two ancient catalogues of the bishops of Rome, set down by Optatus[x] and St. Augustine,[y] Anicetus is set before Pius, and made immediately to succeed Hyginus; by which account he must be removed fifteen years higher, for so long Eusebius positively says Pius sat. And methinks it seems to look a little this way, that Eusebius, having given an account of the emperor Antoninus Pius's rescript in behalf of the Christians, (granted by him in his third consulship, Ann. Chr. 140, or thereabouts,) immediately adds, that about the time of the things spoken of,[z] Anicetus governed the church of Rome, and Polycarp came thither upon this errand; the late peace and indulgence granted to the Christians probably administering both opportunity and encouragement to his journey. But seeing this scheme of times contradicts Eusebius's plain and positive account in other places, and that most ancient catalogues, especially that of Irenæus[a] and Hegesippus[b] (who both lived and were at Rome in the time of Anicetus himself) constantly place Anicetus next to Pius, I dare not disturb this ancient and almost uncontrolled account of things, till I can meet with better evidence for this matter. But whenever it was, over he came to Anicetus to confer with him about this affair; which makes me the more wonder at the learned Monsieur Valois,[c] who with so peremptory a confidence denies that Polycarp came to Rome upon this errand, and that it was not the difference about the paschal solemnity, but some other controversies that brought him thither,

[t] Chron. ad Ann. 154.
[u] Ad An. 2. Olymp. 224. Ind. 10.
[x] De Schism. Donatist. l. ii. p. 36.
[y] Epist. liii. ad Generos. s. 2. vol. ii. p. 120.
[z] Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 14.
[a] Adv. Hæres. l. iii. c. 3. s. 2. et apud Euseb. l. iv. c. 13.
[b] Ap. Euseb. ib. c. 22.
[c] Annot. in Euseb. p. 109.

whenas Irenæus's express words are,[d] (if Eusebius rightly represents them,) that he came to Rome to confer and discourse with Anicetus, διὰ τὶ ζήτημα περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ πάσχα ἡμέρας, "by reason of a certain controversy concerning the day whereon Easter was to be celebrated." It is true he says,[e] that they differed a little περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, about some other things, but this hindered not, but that the other was the main errand and inducement of his voyage thither: though even about that (as he adds) there was no great contention between them. For those holy and blessed souls, knowing the main and vital parts of religion not to be concerned in rituals and external observances, mutually saluted and embraced each other. They could not indeed so satisfy one another, as that either would quit the customs which they had observed, but were content still to retain their own sentiments, without violating that charity, which was the great and common law of their religion. In token whereof they communicated together at the holy sacrament; and Anicetus, to put the greater honour upon St. Polycarp, gave him leave to consecrate the eucharist in his own church: after which they parted peaceably; each side, though retaining their ancient rites, yet maintaining the peace and communion of the church. The ancient Synodicon[f] tells us that a provincial synod was held at Rome about this matter by Anicetus, Polycarp, and ten other bishops; where it was decreed that Easter should not be kept at the time, nor after the rites and manner of the Jews, but be celebrated αὐτῇ τῇ περιδόξῳ καὶ μεγάλῃ κυριακῇ, on the eminent and great Lord's-day that followed after it. But improbable it is that St. Polycarp should give his vote to any such determination, when we know that he could not agree with Anicetus in this controversy, and that he left Rome with the same judgment and practice herein, wherewith he came thither.

V. During his stay at Rome[g] he mainly set himself to convince gainsayers, testifying the truth of those doctrines which he had received from the apostles, whereby he reclaimed many to the communion of the church, who had been infected and overrun with errors, especially the pernicious heresies of Marcion

[d] Ap. Euseb. l. iv. c. 13. vid. etiam. Chron. Alex. ad An. 2. Olymp. 224. Ind. 10.
[e] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. v. c. 24. [f] Synod. à Pappo edit. p. 3.
[g] Iren. adv. Hæres. l. iii. c. 3. s. 2. et ap. Euseb. l. iv. c. 14.

and Valentinus. And when Marcion[h] meeting him one day accidentally in the street, and ill resenting it that he did not salute him, called out to him, "Polycarp, own us;" the good man replied in a just indignation, "I own thee to be the first-born of Satan." So religiously cautious (says Irenæus) were the apostles and their followers, not so much as by discourse to communicate with any that did adulterate and corrupt the truth; observing St. Paul's rule, "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject; knowing that he that is such is perverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself."[i] Indeed St. Polycarp's pious and devout mind was fermented with a mighty zeal and abhorrency of the poisonous and pestilent principles, which in those times corrupted the simplicity of the Christian faith, insomuch that when at any time he heard any thing of that nature, he was wont presently to stop his ears,[k] and cry out, "Good God, into what times hast thou reserved me, that I should hear such things!" immediately avoiding the place where he had heard any such discourse. And the same dislike he manifested in all the epistles, which he wrote either to neighbour churches, or particular persons, warning them of errors, and exhorting them to continue stedfast in the truth. This zeal against heretics, and especially his carriage towards Marcion, we may suppose he learnt in a great measure from St. John, of whom he was wont to tell,[l] that going into a bath at Ephesus, and espying Cerinthus, the heresiarch, there, he presently started back, "Let us be gone" (said he to his companions) "lest the bath, wherein there is Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, fall upon our heads." This passage (says Irenæus) some yet alive heard from St. Polycarp's own mouth, and himself, no doubt, among the rest; for so he tells us elsewhere,[m] that in his youth, when he was with St. Polycarp in the Lesser Asia, he took such particular notice of things, that he perfectly remembered the very place where he used to sit while he discoursed, his goings out and coming in, the shape of his body, and the manner of his life, his discourses to the people, and the account he was wont to give of his familiar converse with

[h] Vid. Men. Græcor. τῇ στ'. τοῦ Φέβρυαρ.

[i] Tit. iii. 9, 10.

[k] Iren. Epist. ad Florin. ap. Euseb. l. v. c. 20.

[l] Iren. l. iii. c. 3. s. 4. et Euseb. l. iv. c. 14.

[m] Epist. ad Florin. ap. Euseb. l. v. c. 20.

St. John, and others who had seen our Lord, whose sayings he rehearsed, and whatever they had told him concerning our Saviour, concerning his miracles and his doctrine, which themselves had either seen or heard, agreeing exactly with the relations of the sacred history: all which, Irenæus tells us, he particularly took notice of, and faithfully treasured them up in his mind, and made them part of his constant meditation. These are all the material remarks which I find among the ancients concerning Polycarp during the time of his government of the church at Smyrna. Indeed there are several miracles and particular passages of his life related by the above-mentioned Pionius, which tend infinitely to exalt the honour of this holy man: but seeing the author is obscure, and that we can have no reasonable satisfaction who he was, and whence he borrowed his notices and accounts of things, I choose rather to suspend my belief, than to entertain the reader with those (at best uncertain) relations which he has given us.

VI. In the reign of M. Antoninus and L. Verus began a severe persecution (whether fourth or fifth, let others inquire) against the Christians, Melito bishop of Sardis, who lived at that time, and dedicated his Apology to the emperors, making mention of καινὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν δόγματα καὶ διατάγματα,[n] new edicts and decrees which the emperors had issued out through Asia, by virtue whereof impudent and greedy informers spoiled and vexed the innocent Christians. But the storm increased into a more violent tempest about the seventh year of their reign, Ann. Chr. 167, when the emperor Marcus Antoninus, designing an expedition against the Marcomanni,[o] the terror of whom had sufficiently awakened them at Rome, summoned the priests together, and began more solemnly to celebrate their religious rites; and no doubt but he was told that there was no better way to propitiate and atone the gods, than to bear hard upon the Christians, generally looked upon as the most open and hateful enemies to their gods. And now it was that St. Polycarp, after a long and diligent discharge of his duty in his episcopal station, received his crown: so vastly wide of the mark are the later Greeks,[p] making him in their public offices to suffer martyrdom under the Decian persecution. Nor much nearer is that of Socrates,[q]

[n] Apud Euseb. l. iv. c. 26.

[o] Jul. Capit. in vit. M. Antonin. c. 13.

[p] Men. Græc. τῇ κγ'. τοῦ Φέβρυαρ.

[q] Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 22.

(however he fell into the error,) who tells us that he was martyred under Gordianus; mistakes so extravagant, that there needs no more to confute them, than to mention them. Concerning his sufferings and martyrdom, we have a full and particular relation in a letter of the church of Smyrna, written not long after his death, to the church of Philomelium, (or more truly Philadelphia,) and in the nature of an encyclical epistle, to all the dioceses (παροικίαις) of the holy catholic church; the far greatest part whereof Eusebius has inserted into his history, leaving out only the beginning and the end, though the entire epistle, together with its ancient version, or rather paraphrase, is since published by bishop Usher. It was penned by Euaristus; and afterwards (as appears by their several subscriptions at the end of it) transcribed out of Irenæus's copy by Caius, contemporary and familiar with Irenæus; out of his by one Socrates at Corinth; and from his by Pionius, who had with great diligence found it out: a piece it is that challenges a singular esteem and reverence, both for the subject-matter and the antiquity of it, with which Scaliger[r] thinks every serious and devout mind must needs be so affected, as never to think it has enough of it; professing for his own part, that he never met with any thing in all the history of the church, with the reading whereof he was more transported, so that he seemed no longer to be himself. Which effect that it may have upon the pious well-disposed reader, we shall present him with this following account.

VII. The persecution growing hot at Smyrna,[s] and many having already sealed their confession with their blood, the general outcry was, "Away with the impious," (or the "Atheists," such they generally called and accounted the Christians,) "let Polycarp be sought for." The good man was not disturbed at the news, but resolved to endure the brunt: till his friends, knowing his singular usefulness, and that our Lord had given leave to his disciples, when persecuted in one city to flee to another, prevailed with him to withdraw into a neighbouring village, where with a few companions he continued day and night in prayer, earnestly interceding with Heaven (as afore-time it

[r] Animadv. ad Euseb. Chr. ad N. 2583. p. 221.

[s] Epist. Eccles. Smyrn. de Mart. Polycarp. edit. Usser. p. 16. et apud Euseb. l. iv. c. 15.

had ever been his custom) for the peace and tranquillity of all the churches in the world. Three days before his apprehension, falling at night, as he was at prayer, into a trance, he dreamed that his pillow was on fire, and burned to ashes; which, when he awakened, he told his friends was a prophetic presage that he should be burnt alive for the cause of Christ. In the mean time he was every where narrowly sought for, upon notice whereof his friends persuaded him to retire into another village, whither he was no sooner come but his enemies were at hand; who seizing upon a couple of youths, (one of whom by stripes they forced to a confession,) were by them conducted to his lodging. Entering the house at evening, they perceived him to be in bed in an upper room; and though upon notice beforehand of their coming he might easily have saved himself by slipping into another house, yet he refused, saying, "The will of the Lord be done." Understanding his persecutors were there, he came down and saluted them with a very cheerful and gentle countenance; insomuch that they who had not hitherto known him, wondered to behold so venerable a person, of so great age, and so grave and composed a presence, and what needed all this stir to hunt and take this poor old man. He, nothing concerned, ordered a table to be spread, and provisions to be set upon it, inviting them to partake of them, and only requesting for himself, that in the mean while he might have one hour for prayer. Leave being granted, he rose up, and betook himself to his devotions; wherein he had such mighty assistances of divine grace, that he continued praying near two hours together, heartily recommending to God the case of all his friends and acquaintance, whether great or little, honourable or ignoble, and the state of the catholic church throughout the world; all that heard him being astonished at it, and many of them now repenting that so divine and venerable an old man should be put to death.

VIII. His prayer being ended, and they ready to depart, he was set upon an ass, and (it being then the Great Sabbath, though what that Great Sabbath was, learned men, I believe, will hardly agree till the coming of Elias) conducted into the city. As they were upon the road, they were met by Herod and his father Nicetes, who, indeed, were the main-springs of the persecution, and had put the tumult into motion. This Herod was an *irenarcha*; one of those, *ad quos tuendæ publicæ pacis vigilantia*

pertinebat, as St. Augustine describes them:[t] their office was most-what the same with that of our modern justices of the peace; they being set to guard the provinces, and to secure the public peace and quietness within their several jurisdictions, to prevent and suppress riots and tumults, robberies and rapines, and to inquire into the companions and receivers of all such persons, and to transmit to the magistrates the examinations and notices which they had received of such matters. They were appointed either by the emperor himself, or the *præfecti prætorio*, or the *decurios*; and at this time the custom in the provinces of the Lesser Asia was, that every city did yearly send ten of the names of their principal persons to the governor of the province, who chose out one to be the *irenarcha*, the keeper, or justice of the peace. Being afterwards found grievous and troublesome to the people, they were taken away by a law of the younger Theodosius,[u] though the office remained under another name. This office at Smyrna was at this time managed by this Herod, whom Baronius[x] conjectures to be Herodes Atticus,[y] a man of consular dignity, and of great learning and eloquence, and who had been tutor to the present emperor. Certain it is that that Herod governed in the free cities of Asia,[z] and resided sometimes at Smyrna; though it cramps the conjecture, that the name of that Herod's father was Atticus, of this Nicetes, unless we will suppose him to have had two names. But whoever he be, a great enemy he was to Polycarp; whom meeting upon the way, he took him up into his chariot, where both he and his father by plausible insinuations sought to undermine his constancy, asking him what great harm there was in saying, "My lord the emperor," and in sacrificing, by which means he might escape. This was an usual way of attempting the Christians; not that they made any scruple to acknowledge the emperor to be their lord, (none were so forward, so earnest to pay all due subjection and reverence to princes,) but because they knew that the Romans, too apt to flatter the ambition of their emperors into a fondly usurped divinity, by that title usually understood God, as Tertullian tells

[t] Epist. cxxxiii. s. 1. ad Marcellinum, vol. ii. p. 396. Epist. cxxxiv. s. 3. ad Apringium, vol. ii. p. 398. Vid. l. xii. s. 4. ff. de muner. et honor. Tit. 4. et l. vi. s. 2. ff. de custod. et exhib. reor. Tit. 3.

[u] Cod. Theod. lib. unic. Tit. 14. de Hirenarch.

[x] Ad Ann. 169. n. 7.

[y] A. Gell. noct. Att. l. i. c. 2. J. Capit. in vit. M. Anton. c. 3.

[z] Philastr. de vit. Sophist. l. ii. in Herod. p. m. 646. et l. i. in Polemon. p. 642.

them;[a] in any other notion of the word they could as freely as any call him lord, though, as he adds, even Augustus[b] himself modestly forbad that title to be ascribed to him.

IX. St. Polycarp returned no answer to their demand, till importunately urging him, he replied, that he would not at any rate comply with their persuasions. Frustrated of the ends which they had upon him, they now lay aside the visor of their dissembled friendship, and turn their kindness into scorn and reproaches, thrusting him out of the chariot with so much violence that he bruised his thigh with the fall. Whereat nothing daunted, as if he had received no hurt, he cheerfully hastened on to the place of his execution, under the conduct of his guard; whither when they were come, and a confused noise and tumult was arisen, a voice came from heaven, (heard by many, but none seen who spake it,) saying, "Polycarp, be strong, and quit thyself like a man." Immediately he was brought before the public tribunal, where a great shout was made, all rejoicing that he was apprehended. The proconsul (whose name was L. Statius Quadratus) this very year, as Aristides the Orator, who lived at this time at Smyrna, informs us,[c] the proconsul of Asia, (as not long before he had been consul at Rome,) asked him whether he was Polycarp? which being confessed, he began to persuade him to recant; "Regard," said he, "thy great age; swear by the genius of Cæsar; repent, and say with us, 'take away the impious.'" These were ἃ σύνηθες αὐτοῖς, as my authors truly observe, their usual terms and proposals to Christians, who stoutly refused to swear by the emperor's genius; upon which account the heathens generally traduced them as traitors and enemies to the state, though to wipe off that charge they openly professed,[d] that though they could not swear by the fortune of the emperor, (their genii being accounted deities, whom the Christians knew to be but demons, and cast out at every turn,) yet they scrupled not to swear by the emperor's safety, a thing more august and sacred than all the genii in the world.

X. The holy martyr looking about the *stadium*, and with a severe and angry countenance beholding the crowd, beckoned to them with his hand, sighed and looked up to heaven, saying,

[a] Apolog. c. 34. [b] Vid. Sueton. in vit. Aug. c. 53.
[c] Orat. Sacr. iv. [d] Tertul. Apol. c. 32. Orig. contr. Cels. l. viii. c. 65.

(though quite in another sense than they intended,) "Take away the impious." The proconsul still persuaded him to swear, with promise to release him, withal urging him to blaspheme Christ: for with that temptation they were wont to assault Christians, and thereby to try the sincerity of their renegados; a course which Pliny tells us he observed towards apostate Christians,[e] though he withal confesses, that none of them that were really Christians could ever be brought to it. The motion was resented with a noble scorn, and drew from Polycarp this generous confession, "Fourscore and six years I have served him, and he never did me any harm, how then shall I now blaspheme my King and my Saviour?" But nothing will satisfy a malicious misguided zeal: the proconsul still importuned him to swear by Cæsar's genius; to whom he replied, "Since you are so vainly ambitious that I should swear by the emperor's genius, as you call it, as if you knew not who I am, hear my free confession, I am a Christian. If you have a mind to learn the Christian religion, appoint me a time, and I will instruct you in it." The proconsul advised him to persuade the people: he answered, "To you I rather choose to address my discourse; for we are commanded by the laws of our religion to give to princes and the powers ordained of God, all that due honour and reverence that is not prejudicial and contrary to the precepts of religion: as for them (meaning the common herd) I think them not competent judges, to whom I should apologize, or give an account of my faith."

XI. The proconsul now saw it was in vain to use any further persuasives and entreaties, and therefore betook himself to severer arguments: "I have wild beasts at hand (said he) to which I will cast thee, unless thou recant." "Call for them, (cried the martyr,) for we are immutably resolved not to change the better for the worse, accounting it fit and comely only to turn from vice to virtue." "Since thou makest so light of wild beasts, (added the proconsul,) I have a fire that shall tame thee, unless thou repent." "Thou threatenest me with a fire (answered Polycarp) that burns for an hour, and is presently extinct, but art ignorant, alas, of the fire of eternal damnation and the judgment to come, reserved for the wicked in the other world. But why delayest thou? bring forth whatever thou hast a mind to." This

[e] Epist. ad Trajan. Imp. Ep. 97. l. x.

and much more he spake with a pleasant and cheerful confidence, and a divine grace was conspicuous in his very looks; so far was he from cowardly sinking under the great threatenings made against him. Yea, the proconsul himself was astonished at it; though finding no good could be done upon him, he commanded the crier, in the middle of the *stadium*, thrice to make open proclamation, (as was the manner of the Romans in all capital trials,) "Polycarp has confessed himself a Christian." Whereat the whole multitude, both of Jews and Gentiles that were present, (and probable it is that the τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας, the common-council or assembly of Asia, might about this time be held at Smyrna for the celebration of their common shows and sports; for that it was sometimes held here is evident from an ancient inscription making mention of it,[f]) gave a mighty shout, crying out aloud, "This is the great doctor of Asia, and the father of the Christians; this is the destroyer of our gods, that teaches men not to do sacrifice, or worship the deities."

XII. The cry being a little over, they immediately addressed themselves to Philip the Asiarch: these Asiarchs were Gentile priests belonging to the commonalty of Asia,[g] yearly chosen at the common-council or assembly of Asia, to the number of about ten, (whereof one was principal,) out of the names returned by the several cities. It was an office of great honour and credit, but withal of great expence and charge; they being obliged to entertain the people with sights and sports upon the festival solemnities, and therefore it was not conferred but upon the more wealthy and substantial citizens. In this place was Philip at this time, whom the people clamorously requested, to let out a lion upon the malefactor: which he told them he could not do, having already exhibited the τὰ κυνηγέσια, the hunting of wild beasts with men, one of the famous shows of the amphitheatre. Then they unanimously demanded, that he might be burnt alive; a fate which he himself, from the vision in his dream, had prophetically foretold should be his portion. The thing was no sooner said than done, each one striving to bear a part in this fatal tragedy, with incredible speed fetching wood and faggots from several places; but especially the Jews were

[f] Marm. Oxon. iii. p. 70.

[g] Vid. l. vi. §. 14. ff. de excusat. Tit. l. et l. viii. §. 1. de Vacat. Tit. 5. ibid. Vid. etiam Aristid. Orat. Sacr. iv.

peculiarly active in the service, malice to Christians being almost as natural to them as it is for the fire to burn. The fire being prepared, St. Polycarp untied his girdle, laid aside his garments, and began to put off his shoes; ministeries which he before was not wont to be put to: the Christians ambitiously striving to be admitted to do them for him, and happy he that could first touch his body. So great a reverence even in his younger years had he from all for the admirable strictness and regularity of his holy life.

XIII. The officers that were employed in his execution having disposed all other things, came according to custom to nail him to the stake; which he desired them to omit, assuring them, that he who gave him strength to endure the fire, would enable him without nailing to stand immoveable in the hottest flames. So they only tied him; who standing like a sheep ready for the slaughter, designed as a grateful sacrifice to the Almighty, clasping his hands which were bound behind him, he poured out his soul to heaven in this following prayer: "O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy well-beloved and ever-blessed Son Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the knowledge of thee; the God of angels, powers, and of every creature, and of the whole race of the righteous, who live before thee; I bless thee that thou hast graciously condescended to bring me to this day and hour, that I may receive a portion in the number of thy holy martyrs, and drink of Christ's cup, for the resurrection to eternal life both of soul and body in the incorruptibleness of the Holy Spirit. Into which number grant I may be received this day, being found in thy sight as a fair and acceptable sacrifice, such a one as thou thyself hast prepared, that so thou mayest accomplish what thou, O true and faithful God, hast foreshewn. Wherefore I praise thee for all thy mercies; I bless thee, I glorify thee, through the eternal High-priest, thy beloved Son Jesus Christ; with whom to thyself and the Holy Ghost, be glory both now and for ever. Amen." Which last word he pronounced with a more clear audible voice: and having done his prayer, the ministers of execution blew up the fire, which increasing to a mighty flame, behold a wonder, (seen, say my authors, by us, who were purposely reserved, that we might declare it to others,) "the flames disposing themselves into the resemblance of an arch, like the sails of a ship swelled with the

wind, gently encircled the body of the martyr, who stood all the while in the midst, not like roasted flesh, but like gold or silver purified in the furnace, his body sending forth a delightful fragrancy, which like frankincense or some other costly spices, presented itself to our senses."

XIV. How blind and incorrigibly obstinate is unbelief![h] The infidels were so far from being convinced, that they were rather exasperated by the miracle, commanding a spearman, one of those who were wont to despatch wild beasts when they became outrageous, to go near and run him through with a sword; which he had no sooner done, but such a vast quantity of blood flowed from the wound, as extinguished and put out the fire; together with which a dove was seen to fly from the wounds of his body, which some suppose to have been his soul, clothed in a visible shape at the time of its departure: though true it is, that this circumstance is not mentioned in Eusebius's account, and probably never was in the original. Nor did the malice of Satan end here: he knew by the innocent and unblameable course of his life, and the glorious constancy of his martyrdom, that he had certainly attained the crown of immortality, and nothing now was left for his spite to work on, but to deprive them even of the honour of his bones. For many were desirous to have given his body decent and honourable burial, and to have assembled there for the celebration of his memory; but were prevented by some who prompted Nicetes, the father of Herod and brother to Alce, to advise the proconsul not to bestow his body upon the Christians, lest leaving their crucified Master, they should henceforth worship Polycarpus. A suggestion, however, managed by the heathens, yet first contrived and prompted by the Jews, who narrowly watched the Christians when they would have taken away his body from the place of execution: "Little considering (they are the very words of my authors) how impossible it is that either we should forsake Christ, who died for the salvation of the whole world, or that we should worship any other. Him we adore as the Son of God; but martyrs, as the disciples and followers of our Lord, we deservedly love for their eminent kindness towards their own Prince and Master, whose companions and fellow-disciples we also by all means desire to be." So far were those primitive and better ages from that undue

[h] Vid. Usser. not. 74. in Act. Polycarp. p. 67.

and superstitious veneration of the reliques of martyrs and departed saints which after-ages introduced into the church, as elsewhere we have shewed more at large.[i]

XV. The centurion beholding the perverseness and obstinacy of the Jews, commanded the body to be placed in the midst, and in the usual manner to be burnt to ashes; whose bones the Christians gathered up as a choice and inestimable treasure, and decently interred them: in which place they resolved, if possible, (and they prayed God nothing might hinder it,) to meet and celebrate the birth-day of his martyrdom, both to do honour to the memory of the departed, and to prepare and encourage others hereafter to give the like testimony to the faith. Both which considerations gave birth and original to the *memoriæ martyrum*, those solemn anniversary commemorations of the martyrs, which we have in another place more fully shewed,[k] were generally kept in the primitive church. Thus died this apostolical man, Ann. Chr. 167, about the hundredth year of his age; for those "eighty-six years," which himself speaks of, wherein he had served Christ, cannot be said to commence from his birth, but from his baptism, or new-birth, at which time we cannot well suppose him to have been less than sixteen or twenty years old: besides, his converse with the apostles and consecration by St. John, reasonably suppose him of some competent years; for we cannot think he would ordain a youth or a very young man bishop, especially of so great and populous a city. The incomparable primate,[l] from a passage in his epistle, conjectures him to have lived (though not then converted to Christianity) at the time when St. Paul wrote his epistles; which, if so, must argue him to have been of a greater age: nor is this any more improbable than what Quadratus,[m] the Christian apologist, who lived under Adrian, and dedicated his Apologetic to that emperor, reports; that there were some of those whom our Lord had healed, and raised from the dead, alive even in his time: and of Simeon, successor to St. James in the bishopric of Jerusalem, Hegesippus expressly relates,[n] that he was one hundred and twenty years old at the time of his martyrdom. Sure I am, Irenæus[o] particularly notes of our St. Polycarp, that he lived a very long

[i] Prim. Christ. par. i. c. 5.
[k] Ibid. c. 7.
[l] Usser. Annot. in Ep. S. Polycarp. p. 2.
[m] Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 3.
[n] Ibid. lib. iii. c. 32.
[o] Adv. Hæres. l. iii. c. 3. s. 4. et ap. Euseb. l. iv. c. 14.

time, and was arrived to an exceeding great age, when he underwent a most glorious and illustrious martyrdom for the faith.

XVI. He suffered on the second of the month Xanthicus, the seventh of the calends of May; though whether mistaken for the seventh of the calends of April, and so to be referred to March 26, as some will have it, or for the seventh of the calends of March, and so to be adjudged to February 23, as others, is difficult to determine. It shall suffice to note, that his memory is celebrated by the Greek church, February the 23d; by the Latin, January the 26th. The amphitheatre where he suffered is in a great measure yet remaining, (as a late eye-witness and diligent searcher into antiquity informs us,[p]) in the two opposite sides whereof are the dens where the lions were wont to be kept. His tomb is in a little chapel in the side of a mountain on the south-east part of the city, solemnly visited by the Greeks upon his festival-day; and for the maintenance and reparation whereof, travellers are wont to throw in a few aspers into an earthen pot that stands there for that purpose. How miserable the state of this city is under the Turkish yoke at this day, is without the limits of my business to inquire: to look a little higher to the times we write of, though I love not to make severe and ill-natured interpretations of the actions of Divine Providence, yet I cannot but observe, how heavy the Divine displeasure not long after Polycarp's death fell, as upon other places, so more particularly upon this city, by plague, fire, and earthquakes, mentioned by others,[q] but more fully described by Aristides,[r] their own orator, who was contemporary with St. Polycarp: by which means their city, before one of the glories and ornaments of Asia, was turned into rubbish and ashes, their stately houses overturned, their temples ruined; one especially, which as it advanced Asia above other countries, so gave Smyrna the honour and precedence above other cities of Asia; their traffic spoiled, their marts and ports laid waste, besides the great numbers of people that lost their lives: indeed, the fate so sad, that the orator was forced to give over, professing himself unable to describe it.

XVII. I cannot better close the story of Polycarp's martyr-

[p] Th. Smith Epist. de septem Asiæ Eccles. p. 164.

[q] Xiphil. Epit. Dion. in M. Anton. p. 281.

[r] In Orat. Monodia dict. vid. Philastr. de vit. Sophist. l. ii. in Aristid. p. m. 659.

dom, than with the preface which the church of Smyrna has in the beginning of it, as what eminently represents the illustrious faith and patience of those primitive Christians. [s] "Evident it is (say they) that all those martyrdoms are great and blessed which happen by the will of God; for it becomes us Christians, who have a more divine religion than others, to ascribe to God the sovereign disposure of all events. Who would not stand and admire the generous greatness of their mind, their singular patience, and admirable love to God? who when their flesh was with scourges so torn off their backs, that the whole frame and contexture of their bodies, even to their inmost veins and arteries, might be seen, yet patiently endured it. Insomuch that those who were present, pitied and grieved at the sight of it, while they themselves were endued with so invincible a resolution, that none of them gave one sigh or groan: the holy martyrs of Christ letting us see, that at that time when they were thus tormented, they were strangers to their own bodies; or rather that our Lord stood by them to assist and comfort them. Animated by the grace of Christ, they despised the torments of men, by one short hour delivering themselves from eternal miseries: the fire which their tormentors put to them seemed cool and little, while they had it in their eye, to avoid the everlasting and unextinguishable flames of another world; their thoughts being fixed upon those rewards which are prepared for them that endure to the end, such as 'neither ear hath heard, nor eye hath seen, nor hath it entered into the heart of man;' [t] but which were shewn to them by our Lord, as being now no longer mortals, but entering upon the state of angels. In like manner those who were condemned to be devoured by wild beasts, for a long time endured the most grievous tortures; shells of fishes were strewed under their naked bodies, and they forced to lie upon sharp pointed stakes driven into the ground, and several such-like engines of torture devised for them, that (if possible) by the constancy of their torments, the enemy might drive them to renounce the faith of Christ: various were the methods of punishments which the Devil did invent, though, blessed be God, there were not many whom they were able to prevail upon." And at the end of the epistle they particularly remark concerning Polycarp, that he was not only a famous doctor, but an eminent martyr

[s] Edit. Usser. p. 14. confer Euseb. l. iv. c. 15.

[t] 1 Cor. ii. 9.

whose martyrdom all strove to imitate, as one who by his patience conquered an unrighteous judge, and by that means having attained an immortal crown, was triumphing with the apostles, and all the souls of the righteous, glorifying God the Father, and praising of our Lord, the disposer of our bodies, and the bishop and pastor of the catholic church throughout the world. Nor were the Christians the only persons that reverenced his memory, but the very Gentiles (as Eusebius tells us[u]) every where spoke honourably of him.

XVIII. As for his writings, besides that St. Hierom[x] mentions the volumes of Papias and Polycarp, and the above-mentioned Pionius,[y] his Epistles and Homilies; Irenæus evidently intimates that he wrote several epistles,[z] of all which none are extant at this day, but the Epistle to the Philippians, an epistle peculiarly celebrated by the ancients, very useful says St. Hierom,[a] *πάνυ θαυμαστὴ*, (as Suidas[b] and Sophronius[c] style it,) "a most admirable epistle." Irenæus gives it this eulogium,[d] that it is "a most perfect and absolute epistle, whence they that are careful of their salvation may learn the character of his faith, and the truth which he preached." To which Eusebius adds, that in this epistle he makes use of some quotations out of the first Epistle of St. Peter: an observation that holds good with the epistle, as we have it at this day, there being many places in it cited out of the first, not one out of the second epistle. Photius passes this just and true judgment of it; that it is full of many admonitions, delivered with clearness and simplicity, according to the ecclesiastic way and manner of interpretation. It seems to hold a great affinity both in style and substance with Clemens's Epistle to the Corinthians, often suggesting the same rules, and making use of the same words and phrases, so that it is not to be doubted, but he had that excellent epistle particularly in his eye at the writing of it. Indeed it is a pious and truly Christian epistle, furnished with short and useful precepts and rules of life, and penned with the modesty and simplicity of the apostolic times, valued by the ancients next to the writings

[u] Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 15.
[x] Epist. lii. ad Lucin. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 578.
[y] Vit. Polycarp. c. 3. n. 12.
[z] Epist. ad Florin. ap. Euseb. l. iv. c. 15.
[a] De Script. in Polycarp. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 108.
[b] Suid. in voc. Πολυκαρπ.
[c] Sophron. ap. Hieron. de Script. in Polycarp.
[d] Adv. Hæres. l. iii. c. 3. a. 4. et apud Euseb. l. iv. c. 15.

of the holy canon; and St. Hierom tells us,[e] that even in his time it was read in *Asiæ conventu*, in the public assemblies of the Asian church. It was first published in Greek by P. Halloix the Jesuit, anno 1633, and not many years after by bishop Usher: and I presume the pious reader will think it no unuseful digression, if I here subjoin so venerable a monument of the ancient church.

[e] De Script. in Polycarp. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 108.

THE EPISTLE OF SAINT POLYCARP,

BISHOP OF SMYRNA AND MARTYR,

TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

Polycarp and the presbyters that are with him, to the church of God which is at Philippi: mercy unto you, and peace from God Almighty, and Jesus Christ our Saviour, be multiplied.

I. I REJOICED with you greatly in our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye entertained the patterns of true love, and (as became you) conducted onwards those who were bound with chains, which are the ornaments of saints, and the crowns of those that are the truly elect of God, and of our Lord: and that the firm root of your faith, formerly published, does yet remain, and bring forth fruit in our Lord Jesus Christ, who was pleased to offer up himself even unto death for our sins: "whom God raised up, having loosed the pains of death:"[a] "in whom, though you see him not, ye believe, and believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory;"[b] whereinto many desire to enter, knowing that "by grace ye are saved, not by works,"[c] but by the will of God through Jesus Christ.

II. "Wherefore girding up your loins,"[d] serve God in fear and truth, forsaking empty and vain talking, and the error wherein so many are involved, "believing in him who raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, and gave him glory,"[e] and a throne at his right hand; to whom all things both in heaven and in

[a] Acts ii. 24. [b] 1 Pet. i. 8. [c] Eph. ii. 8, 9. [d] 1 Pet. i. 13. [e] 1 Pet. i. 21.

earth are put in subjection, whom every thing that has breath worships, who comes to judge the quick and the dead, whose blood God will require of them that believe not in him. But he who raised him up from the dead, will raise up us also, if we do his will, and walk in his commandments, and love what he loved, abstaining from all unrighteousness, inordinate desire, covetousness, detraction, false witness; "not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing,"[f] or striking for striking, or cursing for cursing, but remembering what the Lord said, when he taught thus, "Judge not, that ye be not judged, forgive and ye shall be forgiven, be merciful that ye may obtain mercy: with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again:"[g] and that "blessed are the poor, and they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of God."[h]

III. These things, brethren, I write to you concerning righteousness, not of my own humour, but because yourselves did provoke me to it. For neither I, nor any other such as I am, can attain to the wisdom of blessed and glorious St. Paul, who being among you, and conversing personally with those who were then alive, firmly and accurately taught the word of truth; and when absent, wrote epistles to you, by which, if you look into them, ye may be built in the faith, delivered unto you, which is the mother of us all, being followed by hope, and led on by love, both towards God, and Christ, and to our neighbour. For whoever is inwardly replenished with these things, has fulfilled the law of righteousness; and he that is furnished with love, stands at a distance from all sin. But "the love of money is the beginning of all evil."[i] Knowing, therefore, "that we brought nothing into the world, and that we shall carry nothing out,"[k] let us arm ourselves with the armour of righteousness, and in the first place be instructed ourselves to walk in the commands of the Lord, and next teach your wives to live in the faith delivered to them, in love and chastity, that they embrace their own husbands with all integrity, and others also with all temperance and continency, and that they educate and discipline their children in the fear of God. The widows, that they be sober and modest concerning the faith of the Lord, that they incessantly intercede for all, and keep themselves from all

[f] 1 Pet. iii. 9.
[g] Matt. vii. 1. Luke vi. 36, 37.
[h] Matt. v. 3. 10.
[i] 1 Tim. vi. 10.
[k] 1 Tim. vi. 7.

slandering detraction, false witness, covetousness, and every evil work; as knowing that they are the altars of God, and that he accurately surveys the sacrifice, and that nothing can be concealed from him, neither of our reasonings, nor thoughts, nor the secrets of the heart. Accordingly, knowing that God is not mocked, we ought to walk worthy of his command, and of his glory.

IV. Likewise let the deacons be unblameable before his righteous presence, as the ministers of God in Christ, and not of men; not accusers, not double-tongued, not covetous, but temperate in all things, compassionate, diligent, walking according to the truth of the Lord, who became the deacon or servant of all: of whom, if we be careful to please him in this world, we shall receive the reward of the other life according as he has promised to raise us from the dead: and if we walk worthy of him, "we believe that we shall also reign with him." Let the young men also be unblameable in all things, studying in the first place to be chaste, and to restrain themselves from all that is evil. For it is a good thing to get above the lusts of the world, seeing every lust wars against the spirit; and that "neither fornicators, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, shall inherit the kingdom of God,"[l] nor whoever commits base things.

V. Wherefore it is necessary that ye abstain from all these things, being subject to the presbyters and deacons, as to God and Christ: that the virgins also walk with a chaste and undefiled conscience. Let the presbyters be tender and merciful, compassionate towards all, reducing those that are in error, visiting all that are weak, not negligent of the widow and the orphan, and him that is poor, but ever providing what is honest in the sight of God and men; abstaining from all wrath, respect of persons, and unrighteous judgment, being far from covetousness, not hastily believing a report against any man, not rigid in judgment, knowing that we are all faulty, and obnoxious to punishment. If therefore we stand in need to pray the Lord that he would forgive us, we ourselves ought also to forgive. For we are before the eyes of him, who is Lord and God, and "all must stand before the judgment seat of Christ, and every one give an account of himself."[m] Wherefore let us serve him with

[l] 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. [m] Rom. xiv. 10. 12.

all fear and reverence, as he himself has commanded us, and as the apostles have preached and taught us, and the prophets who foreshewed the coming of the Lord. Be zealous of that which is good, abstaining from offences and false brethren, and those who bear the name of the Lord in hypocrisy, who seduce and deceive vain men. For "every one that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is antichrist;"[n] and he who doth not acknowledge the martyrdom of the cross, is of the Devil; and whoever shall pervert the oracles of the Lord to his private lusts, and shall say, that there is neither resurrection nor judgment to come, that man is the first-born of Satan. Leaving, therefore, the vanity of many, and their false doctrines, let us return to that doctrine, that from the beginning was delivered to us: let us be watchful in prayers, persevering in fasting and supplications, beseeching the allseeing God that he would not lead us into temptation; as the Lord has said, "the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak."[o] Let us unweariedly and constantly adhere to Jesus Christ, who is our hope and the pledge of our righteousness; "who bear our sins in his own body on the tree, who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth,"[p] but endured all things for our sakes, that we might live through him. Let us then imitate his patience, and if we suffer for his name, we glorify him; for such a pattern he set us in himself, and this we have believed and entertained.

VI. I exhort you therefore all, that ye be obedient to the word of righteousness, and that you exercise all manner of patience, as you have seen it set forth before your eyes, not only in the blessed Ignatius, and Zosimus, and Rufus, but in others also among you, and in Paul himself, and the rest of the apostles; being assured that all these have not run in vain, but in faith and righteousness, and are arrived at the place, due and promised to them by the Lord, of whose sufferings they were made partakers. For they loved not this present world, but him who both died, and was raised up again by God for us. Stand fast therefore in these things, and follow the example of the Lord, being firm and immutable in the faith, lovers of the brethren, and kindly affectionate one towards another, united in the truth, carrying yourselves meekly to each other, despising no man. When it is in your power to do good, defer it not, for

[n] 1 John iv. 3; 2 John 7. [o] Matt. xxvi. 41. [p] 1 Pet. ii. 22. 24.

alms delivereth from death. "Be all of you subject one to another,"[q] "having your conversation honest among the Gentiles;"[r] that both you yourselves may receive praise by your good works, and that God be not blasphemed through you. For woe unto him by whom the name of the Lord is blasphemed. Wherefore teach all men sobriety, and be yourselves conversant in it.

VII. I am exceedingly troubled for Valens, who was sometime ordained a presbyter among you, that he so little understands the place wherein he was set. I therefore warn you, that you abstain from covetousness, and that ye be chaste and true. Keep yourselves from every evil work. But he that in these things cannot govern himself, how shall he preach it to another? If a man refrain not from covetousness, he will be defiled with idolatry, and shall be judged among the heathen. Who is ignorant of the judgment of the Lord? "Know ye not that the saints shall judge the world?"[s] as Paul teaches. But I have neither found any such thing in you, nor heard any such thing of you, among whom the blessed Paul laboured, and who are in the beginning of his epistle. For of you he boasts in all those churches, which only knew God at that time, whom as yet we had not known. I am therefore, brethren, greatly troubled for him, and for his wife; the Lord give them true repentance. Be ye also sober as to this matter, and account not such as enemies, but restore them as weak and erring members, that the whole body of you may be saved; for in so doing, ye build up yourselves.

VIII. I trust that ye are well exercised in the holy Scriptures, and that nothing is hid from you; a thing as yet not granted to me. As it is said in these places, "be angry and sin not:" and, "let not the sun go down upon your wrath."[t] Blessed is he that is mindful of these things, which I believe you are. The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and Christ Jesus the eternal High-priest, and Son of God, build you up in faith and truth, and in all meekness, that you may be without anger, in patience, forbearance, long-suffering and chastity, and give you a portion and inheritance amongst his saints, and to us together with you, and to all under heaven, who shall believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and in his Father, who raised him from

[q] 1 Pet. v. 5. [r] 1 Pet. ii. 12. [s] 1 Cor. vi. 2. [t] Eph. iv. 26.

the dead. Pray for all saints. Pray also for kings, magistrates, and princes, and even for them that hate and persecute you, and for the enemies of the cross, that your fruit may be manifest in all, that you may be complete in him.

IX. Ye wrote unto me, both ye and Ignatius, that if any one go into Syria, he might carry your letters along with him: which I will do so soon as I shall have a convenient opportunity, either myself, or by some other, whom I will send upon your errand. According to your request, we have sent you those epistles of Ignatius which he wrote to us, and as many others of his as we had by us, which are annexed to this epistle, by which ye may be greatly profited. For they contain in them faith, and patience, and whatever else is necessary to build you up in our Lord. Send us word what you certainly know, both concerning Ignatius himself, and his companions. These things have I written unto you by Crescens, whom I have hitherto commended to you, and do still recommend. For he has unblameably conversed among us, as also, I believe, amongst you. His sister also ye shall have recommended, when she shall come unto you. Be ye safe in the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be with you all. Amen.

THE LIFE OF SAINT QUADRATUS

BISHOP OF ATHENS.

His birth-place inquired into. His learning. His education under the apostles. Publius bishop of Athens. Quadratus's succession in that see. The degenerate state of that church at his coming to it. His indefatigable zeal and industry in its reformation. Its purity and flourishing condition noted by Origen. Quadratus's being endowed with a spirit of prophecy, and a power of miracles. This person proved to be the same with our Athenian bishop. The troubles raised against the Christians under the reign of Adrian. Adrian's character. His disposition towards religion, and base thoughts of the Christians. His fondness for the learning and religion of Greece. His coming to Athens, and kindness to that city. His being initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. These mysteries what, and the degrees of initiation. Several addresses made to the emperor in behalf of the Christians. Quadratus's Apologetic. Ser. Granianus's letter to Adrian concerning the Christians. The emperor's rescript. His good opinion afterwards of Christ and his religion. Quadratus driven from his charge. His martyrdom and place of burial.

I. WHETHER St. Quadratus was born at Athens, no notices of church antiquity enable us to determine: though the thing itself be not improbable, his education and residence there, and the government of that church seeming to give some colour to it. And as nature had furnished him with incomparable parts, (*excellens ingenium*, as St. Hierom says of him,[a]) so the place gave him mighty advantages in his education, to be thoroughly trained up in the choicest parts of learning, and most excellent institutions of philosophy, upon which account the Greeks truly style him,[b] ἄνδρα πολυΐστορα, a man of great learning and knowledge. He became acquainted with the doctrines and principles of Christianity, by being brought up under apostolical instruc-

[a] Ep. lxxxiii. ad Magn. Orat. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 656.

[b] Men. Græc. τῇ κα'. τοῦ Σεπτεμβρ.

tion, for so Eusebius[c] and St. Hierom[d] more than once tell us, that he was an auditor and a disciple of the apostles; which must be understood of the longer lived apostles, and particularly of St. John, whose scholar in all probability he was, as were also Ignatius, Polycarp, Papias, and others: and therefore Eusebius[e] places him among those that had τὴν πρώτην τάξιν, that were of the very first rank and order among the apostles' successors. There are that make him, and that too constituted by St. John, (though I confess I know not by what authority, the ancients being wholly silent in this matter,) bishop of Philadelphia, one of the seven famous churches of Asia, and at that time, when St. John sent his epistle to that church: which I pass by as a groundless and precarious assertion, seeing they might with equal warrant have made him bishop of any other place.

II. Under the reign of Trajan, as is probable, though Baronius places it under Adrian, Ann. Imp. 6, Publius, bishop of Athens, suffered martyrdom;[f] who is thought by some to have been that very Publius whom St. Paul converted in the island Melita, in his voyage to Rome, and who afterwards succeeded Dionysius the Areopagite in the see of Athens. To him succeeded our Quadratus, (as Dionysius bishop of Corinth,[g] who lived not long after that time, informs us,) who found the state of that church in a bad condition at his coming to it. For upon Publius's martyrdom, and the persecution that attended it, the people were generally dispersed and fled, as what wonder, if when "the shepherd is smitten, the sheep be scattered," and go astray? their public and solemn assemblies were deserted, their zeal grown cold and languid, their lives and manners corrupted, and there wanted but little of a total apostacy from the Christian faith. This good man therefore set himself with a mighty zeal to retrieve the ancient spirit of religion; he resettled order and discipline, brought back the people to the public assemblies, kindled and blew up their faith into an holy flame. Nor did he content himself with a bare reformation of what was amiss, but

[c] Euseb. Chron. Olymp. 226. A. D. 127.

[d] Hier. de Script. in Quadrat. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 109. et Epist. ad Magn. Orat. ibid. p. 656.

[e] Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 37.

[f] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 23.

[g] Epist. ad Athen. apud Euseb. ibid.

with infinite diligence preached the faith, and by daily converts enlarged the bounds of his church, so that (as the Greek rituals express it[h]) the sages and wise men of Greece, being convinced by his doctrines and wise discourses, embraced the gospel, and acknowledged Christ to be the creator of the world, and the great wisdom and power of God; and in a short time reduced it to such an excellent temper, that Origen,[i] (who lived some years after,) demonstrating the admirable efficacy of the Christian faith over the minds of men, and its triumph over all other religions in the world, instances in this very church of Athens for its good order and constitution, its meekness, quietness, and constancy, and its care to approve itself to God, infinitely beyond the common assembly at Athens, which was factious and tumultuary, and no way to be compared with the Christian church in that city; that the churches of Christ, when examined by the heathen convocations, shone like lights in the world, and that every one must confess that the worst parts of the Christian church were better than the best of their popular assemblies; that the senators of the church (as he calls them) were fit to govern in any part of the church of God, while the vulgar senate had nothing worthy of that honourable dignity, nor were raised above the manners of the common people.

III. Thus excellently constituted was the Athenian church; for which it was chiefly beholden to the indefatigable industry, and the prudent care and conduct of its present bishop, whose success herein was not a little advantaged by those extraordinary supernatural powers which God had conferred upon him. That he was endued with a spirit of prophecy, of speaking suddenly upon great and emergent occasions, in interpreting obscure and difficult scriptures, but especially of foretelling future events, we have the express testimonies of Eusebius,[k] affirming him to have lived at the same time with Philip's virgin-daughters, and to have had *προφητικὸν χάρισμα*, the gift of prophecy; and of another author,[l] much ancienter than he, who confuting the error of the Cataphryges, reckons him among the prophets who flourished under the economy of the gospel. I know a learned man[m] would fain persuade us, that the Quadratus who had the

[h] Men. Græc. *τῇ κα'. τοῦ Σεπτεμβρ.*
[i] Contr. Cels. l. iii. c. 30.
[k] Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 37.
[l] Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 17.
[m] Vales. Annot. ad Euseb. l. iv. c. 23.

prophetic gifts, was a person distinct from our Athenian bishop. But the grounds he proceeds upon seem to me very weak and inconcluding. For whereas he says, that that Quadratus is not by Eusebius styled a bishop; who knows not that persons are not in every place mentioned under all their capacities? and less need was there for it here; Quadratus, when first spoken of by Eusebius, not being then bishop of Athens, and so not proper to be taken notice of in that capacity. Nor is his other exception of greater weight, that the prophetic Quadratus did not survive the times of Adrian; whereas ours was in the time with Dionysius bishop of Corinth, who lived under M. Antoninus, and speaks of him as his contemporary, and lately ordained bishop of Athens. But whoever looks into that passage of Dionysius,[n] will find no foundation for such an assertion, but rather the quite contrary, that he speaks of him as if dead before his time, as I believe any one that impartially considers the place must needs confess: not to say, that St. Hierom, and all after him, without any scruple make them to be the same. So that we may still leave him his gift of prophecy, which procured him so much reverence while he lived, and so much honour to his memory since his death. To which may be added what the Greeks in their Menæon[o] not improbably say of him, that he was furnished with a power of working miracles, and that by his prayers he ruined the idolatrous temples of the heathens, whereby he mightily confounded the infidels, and brought in great numbers to the faith.

IV. But the fair weather and prosperity of the church was not wont to last long in those days. They had enjoyed a short tranquillity about the latter end of Trajan's reign, but now, alas! under Adrian, his successor, the weather changed, and there arose (as St. Hierom calls it[p]) a most grievous and heavy persecution, and which Sulpitius Severus expressly says[q] was the fourth persecution. And, indeed, how grievous it was, sufficiently appears from those many thousands of martyrs that then suffered, mentioned in the ancient martyrologies of the church: yea, even at Rome itself,[r] Eustachius and his wife Theopistis, with their two sons, are said by the emperor's command to have

[n] Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 23.
[o] Men. Græc. τῇ κα'. τοῦ Σεπτεμβρ.
[p] Epist. lxxxiii. ad Magn. Orat. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 656.
[q] Hist. sacr. l. ii. c. 31. vol. ii. p. 170.
[r] Vid. Rom. Martyr. ad Septemb. 20.

been thrown to the lions, and when the mercy of the savage beasts had spared them, they were ordered to be burnt to death in the belly of a brazen bull. It is true Tertullian says,[s] that Adrian published no laws or edicts against the Christians; but the laws enacted by Trajan being yet unrepealed, or not laid aside, there would not want those who would put them in execution. We find,[t] that though Trajan commanded a stop to be put to the persecution against Christians, yet even then both people and governors of provinces went on with their accustomed cruelties, and though there was not a general, there were particular and provincial persecutions. And no doubt it was much more so after his death, when Adrian came to the empire, whom they knew too well, to think he would be an enemy to such proceedings. For whatever some have said concerning the clemency and good nature of that prince, there are others[u] that plainly affirm, that it was but personated and put on, that he really was in his nature cruel, and that (according to the true genius of superstition) whatever works of piety he did, it was for fear lest the same evil fate should happen to him, that fell upon Domitian; and of his cruelty instances enough may be met with in the writers of his life. In short, there was in him a strange mixture and contemperation of vice and virtue, it being a true character which the historian gives of him,[x] that he was severe and cheerful, grave and affable, deliberate and yet eagerly wanton, covetous and liberal, cruel and merciful, a great dissembler, and perpetually inconstant in all his actions.

V. For religion he was a diligent and superstitious observer of their own rites of worship,[y] but hated and despised all strange and foreign religion, and especially the Christian. Indeed, how well he thought of the Christians, appears sufficiently from his letter to Servianus the consul,[z] written a little after his return out of Egypt, wherein he gives the Christians there so lewd and base a character; not sticking to affirm that the people, yea, their priests, their bishops, and their very patriarch himself, would worship both Christ and Serapis, and that they were a most turbulent, vain, and injurious generation. From which

[s] Apol. c. 6. [t] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 33.

[u] Mar. Maxim. ap. Æl. Spart. in vit. Adrian. c. 20. vid. Dion. l. 69. non long. ab init.

[x] Spartian. ib. c. 14. [y] Id. ibid. c. 22. [z] Extat. ap. Fl. Vopisc. in vit. Saturn.

epistle it seems plain to me, that at his being there, he had severely persecuted the Christians, and compelled some light or false professors to worship the deities of the country, which probably gave ground to his censure, and to charge the imputation upon all. And since he looked upon the Christians as such a vile sort of men, it is the less to be wondered, that he should connive at, or encourage their being persecuted in other parts of the empire. He principally applied himself to the studies of Greece,[a] whereof he was so strangely fond, that he was commonly styled Græculus, the "Little Greek:" this made him delight much in those parts, and to converse with the learning and philosophy of those countries. About the sixth or seventh year of his reign he came to Athens, where he took upon him the place and honour of an archon, celebrated their solemn sports, and gave many particular laws and privileges to that city; but especially was entered into their Eleusinian mysteries, accounted the most sacred and venerable of the whole Gentile world, and which particularly carried the title of "The Mysteries." They were solemn and religious rites performed to Ceres, in memory of great benefits received from her, the candidates whereof were styled *μύσται*, and to the full participation whereof they were many times not admitted till after a five years' preparatory trial, which had many several steps, and each its peculiar rites: first, there were *πάνδαιμοι καθάρσεις*, the "common purgations;" then *αἱ ἀπορρητότεροι*, those that were "more secret;" next the *συστάσεις*, or "stations;" then the *μυήσεις*, the "initiations;" and lastly, (which was the top of all,) the *ἐποπτεῖαι*, or the "inspections." Others reckon them thus; that first there were the *τὰ καθάρσια*, the "purifications" and expiations; then followed the *τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια*, the "lesser mysteries," when they were solemnly initiated and taken in; and lastly, after some time they arrived at the greater mysteries, the *τὰ ἐποπτικὰ*, which were the most hidden solemnities of all, when they were admitted to a full sight of the whole mystic scene, and thenceforth called *ἐπόπται*, or "inspectors,"[b] and were obliged, under a solemn oath, not to discover these mysterious rites to any. We cannot well suppose that the emperor Adrian was put to observe these tedious methods of initiation; their mystic laws were no doubt dispensed with for so extraordinary a person, and he at once be-

[a] Spart. in vit. Adrian. c. 1. [b] De Script. in Quadrat. vol. ii. par. ii. p. 109.

came both a candidate and an ἐπόπτης, a thing which they sometimes granted in some extraordinary cases. And not content to do thus at Athens, St. Hierom tells us, he was initiated into almost all the sacred rites of Greece, whence Tertullian[c] justly styles him, "The searcher into all curious and hidden mysteries;" and Dion[d] himself tells us of him, that he was infinitely curious, and strangely addicted to all sorts of divination and magic arts.

VI. At Athens, Adrian stayed the whole winter, where his busy and superstitious zeal being taken notice of, was warrant enough without further order for active zealots to pursue and oppress the Christians; the persecution growing so fierce and hot, that the Christians were forced to remonstrate and declare their case to the emperor: among whom, besides Aristides,[e] a Christian philosopher, at this time at Athens, who in an Apology addressed himself to Adrian, our Quadratus presented an Apologetic to the emperor, defending the Christian religion from the calumnies and exceptions of its enemies, and vindicating it from those pretences, upon which ill-minded men sought to ruin and undo the innocent Christians; wherein also he particularly took notice of our Saviour's miracles, his curing diseases, and raising the dead; some instances whereof, he says, were alive in his time. Besides this Apology, (wherein, as Eusebius says, he gave large evidences both of his excellent parts, and true apostolic doctrine,) it is probable he left no other writings behind him, none being mentioned by any of the ancients: where I cannot but note the strange heedlessness of the compilers of the Centuries,[f] where they tell us out of Eusebius, that besides the Apology, he composed another excellent book called Syngramma, when nothing can be more plain, than that by that writing Eusebius means not a distinct book, but that very apologetic oration which he there speaks of: and yet a modern German professor[g] (who frequently transcribes their errors as well as their labours) securely swallows it, purely, (I suppose upon their authority); though strange it is, that he could read that passage in Eusebius himself, which he seems to have done, and not palpably feel the mistake.

[c] Apol. c. 6.

[d] Excerpt. ex Dion. à Vales. edit. p. 714.

[e] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 3. Hieron. de script. in Aristid. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 109. et in Epist. ad Magn. Orat. p. 656.

[f] Cent. ii. c. 10.

[g] Bebel. Antiq. Eccles. Secul. 2. Artic. 1. p. 183.

VII. It happened about this time that Serenius Granianus, the proconsul of Asia, wrote letters to the emperor,[h] representing to him the injustice of the common proceedings against Christians; how unfit it was that without any legal trial, or crime laid to their charge, they should be put to death, merely to gratify the unreasonable and tumultuary clamours of the people. With this letter and the apologies that had been offered him by the Christians, the keenness of the emperor's fury was taken off, and care was taken that greater moderation should be used towards them. To which purpose he despatched away to Fundanus,[i] Granianus's successor in the proconsulship of Asia, this following rescript:

"Adrian, emperor, to Minucius Fundanus.

"I received the letters which were sent me by the most excellent Serenius Granianus, your predecessor. Nor do I look upon it as a matter fit to be passed over without due inquiry, that the men may not be needlessly disquieted, nor informers have occasion and encouragement of fraudulent accusations ministered unto them. Wherefore if the subjects of our provinces be able openly to appear to their indictments against the Christians, so as to answer to them before the public tribunal, let them take that course, and not deal by petition and mere noise and clamour: it being much fitter, if any accusation be brought, that you should have the cognizance of it. If any one shall prefer an indictment, and prove that they have transgressed the laws, then give you sentence against them according to the quality of the crime. But if it shall appear, that he brought it only out of spite and malice, take care to punish that man according to the heinousness of so mischievous a design."

The same rescripts (as Melito bishop of Sardis,[k] who presented an Apology to M. Antoninus, informs us) Adrian sent to several other governors of provinces; nay, was so far wrought into a good mood, that if it be true what their own historian reports of him,[l] he designed to build a temple to Christ, and to receive him into the number of their gods; and that he commanded temples to be built in all cities without images, which were for a long

[h] Just. Mart. Apol. i. c. 69. et apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 8.
[i] Justin. ibid. Euseb. lib. iv. c. 9.
[k] Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 26.
[l] Lamprid. in vit. Alex. Sever. c. 43.

time after called Adriani; but was prohibited to go on by some, who, having consulted the oracle, had been told, that if this succeeded according to some men's desires, the temples would be deserted and all men become Christians.

VIII. What became of St. Quadratus after Adrian's departure from Athens, we find not more than what the Greeks in their Menæon relate,[m] that by the violence of persecutors he was driven from his charge at Athens, and being first set upon by stones, then tormented by fire, and several other punishments, he at last under Adrian (probably about the latter end of his reign) received the crown of martyrdom. To what place he fled when he left Athens, and where he suffered martyrdom, is uncertain; unless it were at Magnesia, a city of Ionia in Asia Minor, where the same Menæon tells us, he preached the gospel, as he did at Athens, and that his body was there entombed, and his remains famous for miracles done there: a place memorable for the death of Themistocles, that great commander and citizen of Athens, banished also by his own fellow-citizens; who, after his brave and honourable achievements, did here by a fatal draught put a period to his own life; where (as Plutarch tells us[n]) his posterity had certain honours and privileges conferred upon them by the Magnesians, and which his friend Themistocles the Athenian enjoyed in his time.

[m] Men. Græc. τῇ κα'. τοῦ Σεπτεμβρ.

[n] In vit. Themist. p. 128.

THE LIFE OF SAINT JUSTIN THE MARTYR.

His vicinity to the apostolic times. His birth-place and kindred. His studies. His travels into Egypt. To what sect of philosophy he applied himself. The occasion and manner of his strange conversion to Christianity related by himself. Christianity the only safe and satisfactory philosophy. The great influence which the patience and fortitude of the Christians had upon his conversion. The force of that argument to persuade men. His vindication of himself from the charges of the Gentiles. His continuance in his philosophic habit. The *φιλόσοφον σχῆμα* what, and by whom worn. *Ὁ γραικὸς ἐπιθέτης.* His coming to Rome, and opposing heretics. Marcion, who, and what his principles. Justin's first Apology to the emperors, and the design of it. Antoninus's letter to the common-council of Asia in favour of the Christians. This shewed not to be the edict of Marcus Antoninus. Justin's journey into the East, and conference with Trypho the Jew. Trypho, who. The malice of the Jews against the Christians. Justin's return to Rome. His contests with Crescens the philosopher. Crescens's temper and principles. Justin's second Apology. To whom presented. The occasion of it. M. Antoninus's temper. Justin foretells his own fate. The acts of his martyrdom. His arraignment before Rusticus prefect of Rome. Rusticus, who: the great honours done him by the emperor. Justin's discourse with the prefect. His freedom and courage. His sentence and execution. The time of his death. His great piety, charity, impartiality, &c. His natural parts, and excellent learning. His unskilfulness in the Hebrew language noted. A late author censured. His writings. The epistle to Diognetus. Diognetus, who. His style and character. The unwarrantable opinions he is charged with. His indulgence to heathens. *Κατὰ λόγον βιοῦν*, what. *Λόγος*, in what sense used by the ancient fathers. How applied to Christ, how to reason. His opinion concerning Chiliasm. The concurrence of the ancients with him herein. This by whom first started; by whom corrupted. Concerning the state of the soul after this life. The doctrine of the ancients in this matter. His assertion concerning angels, maintained by most of the first fathers. The original of it. Their opinion concerning free-will shewed not to be opposed by them to the grace of God. What influence Justin's philosophic education had upon his opinions. His writings enumerated.

I. JUSTIN the Martyr was one, as of the most learned, so of the most early writers of the Eastern church, not long after the apostles as Eusebius says of him;[a] near to them, *χρόνῳ καὶ*

[a] Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 13.

ἀρετῇ, says Methodius bishop of Tyre,[b] both in "time and virtue." And near indeed, if we strictly understand what he says of himself,[c] that he was a "disciple of the apostles;" which surely is meant either of the apostles at large, as comprehending their immediate successors, or probably not of the persons, but doctrine and writings of the apostles, by which he was instructed in the knowledge of Christianity. He was born at Neapolis,[d] a noted city of Palestine, within the province of Samaria, anciently called Sichem, afterwards, as Josephus tells us,[e] by the inhabitants Mabartha (corruptly by Pliny Mamortha[f]); by the Romans, Neapolis; and from a colony sent thither by Flavius Vespasian, styled Flavia Cæsarea. His father was Priscus the son of Bacchius, (for so the *Πρίσκου τοῦ Βακχέου, τῶν ἀπὸ Φλαυίας*, as Sylburgius and Valesius observe, must necessarily be understood, implying the one to have been his father, the other his grandfather,) a Gentile, and as (Scaliger probably thinks[g]) one of those Greeks which were in that colony transplanted thither, who took care, together with religion, to have him educated in all the learning and philosophy of the Gentile world. And indeed how great and exact a master he was in all their arts and learning, how thoroughly he had digested the best and most useful notions, which their institutions of philosophy could afford, his writings at this day are an abundant evidence.

II. In his younger years, and as is probable before his conversion to Christianity, he travelled into foreign parts for the accomplishment of his studies, and particularly into Egypt, the staple-place of all the more mysterious and recondite parts of learning and religion, and therefore constantly visited by all the more grave and sage philosophers among the heathens. That he was at Alexandria, himself assures us,[h] where he tells us what account he received from the inhabitants of the seventy translators; and was shewed the cells wherein they performed that famous and elaborate work, which probably his inquisitive curiosity as a philosopher, and the reports he had heard of it by living among the Jews, had more particularly induced him to inquire after. Among the several sects of philosophers, after he had run through and surveyed all the forms, he pitched his tent among the

[b] Ap. Phot. Cod. CCXXXIV.
[c] Epist. ad Diognet. c. 11.
[d] Apol. i. s. 1.
[e] De Bell. Jud. l. v. c. 4.
[f] Hist. Nat. l. v. c. 13.
[g] Animadv. ad Euseb. Chron. n. 2157.
[h] Parænes. ad Græc. s. 13.

Platonists, whose notions were most agreeable to the natural sentiments of his mind,[i] and which no doubt particularly disposed him for the entertainment of Christianity; himself telling us,[k] that the principles of that philosophy, though not in all things alike, were yet not alien or contrary to the doctrines of the Christian faith. But, alas, he found no satisfaction to his mind, either in this, or any other, till he arrived at a full persuasion of the truth and divinity of that religion which was so much despised by the wise and the learned, so much opposed and trampled on by the grandees and powers of the world: whereof, and of the manner of his conversion to the Christian religion, he has given us a very large and punctual account in his discourse with Trypho. I know this account is suspected by some to be only a *prosopopœia*, to represent the grounds of his becoming a Christian after the Platonic mode, by way of a dialogue, a way familiar with the philosophers of that sect. But however it may be granted that some few circumstances might be added to make up the decorum of the conference, yet I see no reason, (nor is any thing offered to the contrary besides a bare conjecture,) to question the foundation of the story, whereof the sum is briefly this.

III. Being from his youth acted by an inquisitive philosophic genius,[l] to make researches and inquiries after truth, he first betook himself to the Stoics, but not satisfied with his master he left him, and went to a peripatetic tutor, whose sordid covetousness soon made him conclude that truth could not dwell with him: accordingly he turned himself over to a Pythagorean, who requiring the preparatory knowledge of music, astronomy, and geometry, him he quickly deserted; and last of all, delivered himself over to the institution of an eminent Platonist, lately come to reside at Neapolis; with whose intellectual notions he was greatly taken, and resolved for some time to give up himself to solitude and contemplation. Walking out therefore into a solitary place by the sea side, there met him a grave ancient man, of a venerable aspect, who fell into discourse with him. The dispute between them was concerning the excellency of philosophy in general, and of Platonism in particular; which Justin asserted to be the only true way to happiness, and of knowing and seeing God. This the grave person refutes at

[i] Apol. ii. s. 13. [k] Ibid. [l] Dialog. cum Tryph. s. 2—7.

large; and at last comes to shew him, who were the most likely persons to set him in the right way. He tells him, that there were, long before his reputed philosophers, certain blessed and holy men, lovers of God, and divinely inspired, called Prophets, who foretold things which have since come to pass; who alone understood the truth, and undesignedly declared it to the world, whose books yet extant would instruct a man in what most became a philosopher to know; the accomplishment of whose predictions did sufficiently attest their faithfulness and integrity; and the mighty miracles which they wrought, set the truth of what they said beyond all exception; that they magnified God the great Creator of the world, and published his Son Christ to the world: concluding his discourse with this advice, "But as for thyself, above all things pray that the gates of light may set open to thee; for these are not things discerned and understood by all, unless God and Christ grant to a man the knowledge of them." Which discourse being ended, he immediately departed from him.

IV. The wise discourse of this venerable man made a deep impression upon the martyr's mind,[m] kindled in his soul a divine flame, and begot in him a sincere love of the prophets, and those excellent men that were friends to Christ. And now he began seriously to inquire into and examine the Christian religion, which he confesses he found, *μόνην φιλοσοφίαν ἀσφαλῆ τε καὶ σύμφορον*, the only certain and profitable philosophy; and which he could not but commend as containing a certain majesty and dread in it, and admirably adapted to terrify and persuade those who were out of the right way, and to beget the sweetest serenity and peace in the mind of those who are conversant in it. Nor was it the least inducement to turn the scale with him, when he beheld the innocency of the Christians' lives, and the constancy of their death; with what fearless and undaunted resolutions they courted torments, and encountered death in its blackest shape. This very account he gives of it to the Roman emperor: "For my own part, (says he,[n]) being yet detained under the Platonic institutions, when I heard the Christians traduced and reproached, and yet saw them fearlessly rushing unto death, and venturing upon all those things that are accounted most dreadful and amazing to human nature, I concluded with myself, it was impossible that those

[m] Dialog. cum Tryph. s. 8.

[n] Apol. ii. s. 12.

men should wallow in vice, and be carried away with the love of lust and pleasure. For what man that is a slave to pleasure and intemperance, that looks upon the eating of human flesh as a delicacy, can cheerfully bid death welcome, which he knows must put a period to all his pleasures and delights; and would not rather by all means endeavour to prolong his life as much as is possible, and to delude his adversaries, and conceal himself from the notice of the magistrate, rather than voluntarily betray and offer himself to a present execution?" And certainly the martyr's reasonings were unanswerable; seeing there could not be a more effectual proof of their innocency, than their laying down their lives to attest it. Zeno was wont to say, he had rather see one Indian burnt alive, than hear a hundred arguments about enduring labour and suffering. Whence Clemens Alexandrinus infers the great advantages of Christianity,[o] wherein there were daily fountains of martyrs springing up, who before their eyes were roasted, tormented, and beheaded every day; whom regard to the law of their Master had taught and obliged, *τὸ εὐλαβὲς δι' αἱμάτων ἐνδείκνεσθαι*, to demonstrate the truth and excellency of their religion, by sealing it with their blood.

V. We cannot exactly fix the date of his conversion, yet may we, I think, make a very near conjecture. Eusebius tells us,[p] that at the time when Adrian consecrated Antinous, Justin did yet adhere to the studies and religion of the Greeks. Now, for this, we are to know that Adrian, coming into Egypt, lost there his beloved catamite Antinous, whose death he so resented, that he advanced him into the reputation of a deity; whence, in an ancient inscription at Rome,[q] he is styled *ΣΥΝΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΩ ΘΕΩΝ*, "the assessor of the gods in Egypt." He built a city to him in the place where he died, called Antinoe; erected a temple, and appointed priests and prophets to attend it; instituted annual solemnities, and every five years sacred games, called *Ἀντινόεια*, held not in Egypt only, but in other parts; whence an inscription,[r] not long after those times, set up by the senate of Smyrna, mentions "Lerenius Septimius Heliodorus ANTINOEA," who overcame in the sports at Smyrna. But to return. It is very evident that Adrian had not been in Egypt till about the time of Servianus or Severianus's being consul, (as

[o] Stromat. l. ii. c. 20.
[p] Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 8.
[q] Ap. Casau. not. in Æl. Spart. vit. Adr.
[r] Marm. Oxon. cxliii.

appears from that emperor's letters to him,[s]) whose consulship fell in with Ann. Chr. 132, Traj. 16. So that this of Antinous must be done either that, or, at most, the foregoing year; and accordingly about this time (as Eusebius intimates) Justin deserted the Greeks, and came over to the Christians. Whence in his first Apology, presented not many years after to Antoninus Pius, Adrian's successor, he speaks of Antinous[t] *τοῦ νῦν γεγενῆμένου*, who very lately lived and was consecrated; and of the Jewish war, headed by Barchachab, as but lately past; which we know was concurrent with the death and apotheosis of Antinous. For that Justin's *ὁ νῦν γεγεννημένος* in both passages, cannot be precisely confined to the time of presenting that apology, is evident to all, and therefore (as the phrase is sometimes used) must be extended to what was lately done.

VI. The wiser and more considerate part of the Gentiles were not a little troubled at the loss of so useful and eminent a person, and wondered what should cause so sudden a change: for whose satisfaction and conversion, as well as his own vindication, he thought good particularly to write a discourse to them, in the very first words whereof he thus bespeaks them: "Think not, O ye Greeks, that I have rashly, and without any judgment or deliberation, departed from the rites of your religion; for I could find nothing in it really sacred, and worthy of the divine acceptance. The matters among you, as your poets have ordered them, are monuments of nothing but madness and intemperance: and a man can no sooner apply himself, even to the most learned among you for instruction, but he shall be entangled in a thousand difficulties, and become the most confused man in the world."[u] And then he proceeds, with a great deal of wit and eloquence, to expose the folly and absurdness of the main foundations of the Pagan creed, concluding his address with these exhortations: "Come hither, O ye Greeks, and partake of a most incomparable wisdom, and be instructed in a divine religion, and acquaint yourselves with an immortal King. Become as I am, for I sometime was as you are. These are the arguments that prevailed with me; this the efficacy and divinity of the doctrine, which, like a skilful charm, expels all corrupt and poisonous affections out of the soul, and banishes that lust that is the fountain of all evil, whence enmities, strifes, envy,

[s] Ext. ap. Vopisc. in vit. Saturn. [t] Apol. i. n. 29. [u] Orat. ad Græc. n. 1.

emulations, anger, and such-like mischievous passions, do proceed: which being once driven out, the soul presently enjoys a pleasant calmness and tranquillity. And being delivered from that yoke of evils, that before lay upon its neck, it aspires and mounts up to its Creator; it being but suitable that it should return to that place, from whence it borrowed its original."[x]

VII. But though he laid aside his former profession, he still retained his ancient garb, ἐν φιλοσόφου σχήματι πρεσβεύων τὸν θεῖον λόγον, as Eusebius,[y] and after him St. Hierom,[z] reports, preaching and defending the Christian religion under his old philosophic habit, which was the *pallium* or cloak, the usual badge of the Greek philosophers, (different from that which was worn by the ordinary Greeks,) and which those Christians still kept to, who before their conversion had been professed philosophers. So St. Hierom tells us of Aristides,[a] the Athenian philosopher, contemporary with Quadratus, that under his former habit he became Christ's disciple; and Origen of Heraclas,[b] afterwards bishop of Alexandria, that giving up himself to the more strict study of philosophy, he put on φιλόσοφον σχήμα, the "philosophic habit," which he constantly wore, even after he became presbyter of that church. This custom continued long in the Christian church, that those who did ἀκριβῶς χριστιανίζειν (as Socrates speaks[c]) enter upon an ascetic course of life, and a more severe profession of religion, always wore the philosophers' cloak; and he tells us of Silvanus, the rhetorician, that when he became Christian, and professed this ascetic life, he was the first that laid aside the cloak, and, contrary to custom, put on the common garb. Indeed it was so common, that ὁ Γραικὸς ἐπιθέτης became proverbial among the heathens, when any Christian ἀσκητὴς passed by, there goes a Greek impostor, because of their being clad after the same manner, and professing a severer life than ordinary, like the philosophers among the Grecians,[d] many of whom, notwithstanding, were mere cheats and hypocrites: and St. Hierom notes of his time,[e] that if such a Christian were not so fine and spruce in his garb as others, presently the common saying was clapped upon him,

[x] Orat. ad Græc. s. 5. [y] Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 11. [z] De Script. in Justin.
[a] De Script. in Aristid. [b] Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 19.
[c] Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 37. [d] Vide Dion Chrys. Orat. lxxi. περὶ τοῦ σχήμ.
[e] Epist. xix. ad Marcel. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 51.

he is an impostor and a Greek. This habit, it seems, was generally black, and sordid enough. Whence the monks, who succeeded in this strict and regular course of life, are severely noted by the Gentile writers of those times under this character. Libanius calls them μελανειμονοῦντας,[f] "black-coat monks," and says of them,[g] that the greatest demonstration of their virtue was τὸ ζῆν ἐν ἱματίοις πενθοῦντων, "to walk about in mourning garments." Much at the same rate Eunapius[h] describes the monks of Egypt, that they were clad in black, and were ambitious δημοσίᾳ ἀσχημονεῖν, to go abroad in the most slovenly and sordid garb. But it is time to return to our St. Justin, who (as Photius[i] and Epiphanius[k] note) shewed himself in his words and actions, as well as in his habit, to be a true philosopher.

VIII. He came to Rome (upon what occasion is uncertain) probably about the beginning of Antoninus Pius's reign, where he fixed his habitation; dwelling, as appears from the acts of his martyrdom, about the Timothine baths, which were upon the Viminal Mount. Here he strenuously employed himself to defend and promote the cause of Christianity, and particularly to confute and beat down the heresies that then mainly infested and disturbed the church, writing a book against all sorts of heresies;[l] but more especially opposed himself to Marcion, who was the son of a bishop, born in Pontus, and for his deflowering a virgin had been cast out of the church, whereupon he fled to Rome, where he broached many damnable errors; and among the rest, that there were two gods, one the creator of the world, whom he made to be the God of the Old Testament, and the author of evil; the other a more sovereign and supreme being, creator of more excellent things, the Father of Christ, whom he sent into the world to dissolve the law and the prophets, and to destroy the works of the other deity, whom he styled the God of the Jews. Others, and among them especially Epiphanius,[m] and a more ancient author of the Dialogues against the Marcionites,[n] under the name of Origen, (for that it was Origen himself, I much question,) make him to have established three differing principles or beings; an ἀρχὴ ἀγαθὴ, or *good* principle,

[f] Orat. de Templ. p. 10. Ibid. p. 28. [h] In vit. Ædes. p. 78. [i] Cod. CXXV.
[k] Hæres. xlvi. c. 1. [l] Apol. i. a. 26. [m] Hæres. xlii. c. 3.
[n] Dial. contr. Marcion. p. 3, 4. Basil. edit. 1674.

the Father of Christ, and this was the God of the Christians; an ἀρχὴ δημιουργικὴ, or *creating* principle, that made the visible frame of things, which presided over the Jews; and an ἀρχὴ πονηρὰ, or evil principle, which was the Devil, and ruled over the Gentiles: with him Justin encountered both by word and writing, particularly publishing a book which he had composed against him and his pernicious principles.

IX. About the year of our Lord 140, the Christians seem to have been more severely dealt with; for though Antoninus the emperor was a mild and excellent prince, and who put out no edicts, that we know of, to the prejudice of Christianity, yet the Christians being generally traduced and defamed as a wicked and barbarous generation, had a hard hand borne upon them in all places, and were persecuted by virtue of the particular edicts of former emperors, and the general standing laws of the Roman empire. To vindicate them from the aspersions cast upon them, and to mitigate the severities used towards them, Justin about this time published his first Apology, (for though in all editions it be set in the second place, it was unquestionably the first,[o]) presenting it (as appears from the inscription) to Antoninus Pius the emperor, and to his two sons Verus and Lucius, to the senate, and by them to the whole people of Rome: wherein with great strength and evidence of reason he defends the Christians from the common objections of their enemies, proves the divinity of the Christian faith, and shews how unjust and unreasonable it was to proceed against them without due conviction and form of law; acquaints them with the innocent rites and usages of the Christian assemblies; and lastly puts the emperor in mind of the course which Adrian his predecessor had taken in this matter, who had commanded that Christians should not be needlessly and unjustly vexed, but that their cause should be traversed and determined in open judicatures; annexing to his Apology a copy of the rescript which Adrian had sent to Minucius Fundanus to that purpose.

X. His address wanted not, it seems, its desired success.[p] For the emperor, in his own nature of a merciful and generous

[o] Vid. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 18. In the Benedictine edition now referred to, the correct order of the Apologies has been observed, and Cave's references consequently altered, consistently with the opinion here expressed. Ed.

[p] Oros. Hist. l. vii. c. 14.

disposition, being moved partly by this Apology, partly by the notices he had received from other parts of the empire, gave order that Christians henceforward should be treated in more gentle and regular ways, as appears, among others, by his Letter to the Commonalty of Asia,[q] yet extant, which I shall here insert:

"Emperor Cæsar Titus, Ælius Adrian, Antoninus, Augustus, Pius, high-priest, the fifteenth time tribune, thrice consul, father of the country, to the common assembly of Asia, greeting. I am very well assured, that the gods themselves will take care, that this kind of men shall not escape, it being much more their concern, than it can be yours, to punish those that refuse to worship them; whom you do but the stronglier confirm in their own sentiments and opinions, while you vex and oppress them, accuse them for atheists, and charge other things upon them, which you are not able to make good: nor can a more acceptable kindness be done them, than that being accused they may seem to choose to die rather than live, for the sake of that God whom they worship. By which means they get the better, being ready to lay down their lives, rather than be persuaded to comply with your commands. As for the earthquakes that have been, or that do yet happen, it may not be amiss to advertise you, whose minds are ready to despond under any such accidents, to compare your case with theirs. They at such a time are much more secure and confident in their God; whereas you, seeming to disown God all the while, neglect both the rites of other gods, and the religion of that immortal Deity, nay, banish and persecute to death the Christians that worship him. Concerning these men several governors of provinces have heretofore written to my father of sacred memory: to whom he returned this answer; 'That they should be no way molested, unless it appeared that they attempted something against the state of the Roman empire.' Yea, and I myself have received many notices of this nature, to which I answered according to the tenor of my father's constitution. After all which, if any shall still go on to create them trouble, merely because they are Christians, let him that is in-

[q] Ap. Just. Mart. ad Calc. Apol. i. et ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 13. et Chron. Alex. Ann. 2. Olymp. 237. Ind. 7.

dicted be discharged, although it appear that he be a Christian, and let the informer himself undergo the punishment.

"*Published at Ephesus in the place of the common assembly of Asia.*"

XI. This letter was sent (as appears from the year of his consulship) Ann. Chr. 140, Antonini 3. If it be objected, that this seems not consistent with the year of his being tribune, said here to be the fifteenth, I answer, that the δημαρχικὴ ἐξουσία, or tribunitian power, did not always commence with the beginning of their reign, but was sometimes granted, and that more than once, to persons in a private capacity, especially those who were candidates for the empire. Thus (as appears from the Fasti Consulares[r]) M. Agrippa had the *tribunitia potestas* seven, as after his death Tiberius had it fifteen times during the life of of Augustus. So that Antoninus's fifteenth tribuneship might well enough consist with the third year of his empire. Though I confess I am apt to suspect an error in the number, and the rather because Sylburgius tells us,[s] that these fifteen years were not in the edict, as it is in Justin Martyr, but were supplied out of Eusebius's copy, which I have some reason to think to be corrupted in other parts of this epistle. I am not ignorant that some learned men would have this imperial edict to be the decree of Marcus Aurelius, son of Antoninus. Indeed, in the inscription of it, as it is extant in Eusebius, it is Marcus Aurelius Antoninus: but then nothing can be more evident, than that that part of it is corrupted, as is plain, both because Eusebius himself, a few lines before, expressly ascribes it to Antoninus Pius, and because in the original inscription in Justin's own Apology (from whence Eusebius transcribed his) it is Titus Ælius Antoninus Pius. And besides that nothing else of moment is offered to make good the conjecture, the whole consent of antiquity, and the tenor of the epistle itself, clearly adjudge it to the elder Antoninus; and Melito bishop of Sardis,[t] who presented an Apology to his son and successor, tells him of the letters which his father, at the time when he was his partner in the empire,

[r] Videsis Fast. Consul. à Sigon. edit. ad Ann. V. C. 741 et 766.

[s] Annot. in Just. Mart. p. 10. c. 2.

[t] Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 26. et vid. c. 13.

wrote to the cities, that they should not raise any new troubles against the Christians.

XII. Not long after his first Apology, Justin seems to have revisited the eastern parts: for besides what he says in the Acts of his Martyrdom, that he was twice at Rome, Eusebius expressly affirms,[u] that he was at Ephesus, where he had his discourse with Tryphon, which it is plain was after the presenting his first Apology to the emperor.[x] And it is no ways improbable but that he went to Ephesus in company with those who carried the emperor's edict to the common-council of Asia, then assembled in that city, where he fell into acquaintance with Tryphon the Jew. This Tryphon was probably that Rabbi Tarphon, הכהן העשיר, as they commonly call him, the wealthy priest, the master or associate of R. Aquiba, of whom mention is often made in the Jewish writings; a man of great note and eminency, who had fled his country in the late war,[y] wherein Barchochab had excited and headed the Jews to a rebellion against the Romans, since which time he had lived in Greece, and especially at Corinth, and had mightily improved himself by converse with the philosophers of those countries. With him Justin enters the lists in a two-days dispute, the account whereof he has given us in his dialogue with that subtle man, wherein he so admirably defends and makes good the truth of the Christian religion, cuts the very sinews of the Jewish cause, dissolves all their pleas and pretences against Christianity, and discovers their implacable spite and malice, who not barely content to reject Christianity, sent peculiar persons up and down the world to spread abroad,[z] that Jesus the Galilean was a deceiver and seducer, and his whole religion nothing but a cheat and an imposture; that in their public synagogues[a] they solemnly anathematized all that turned Christians, hated them, as elsewhere he tells us,[b] with a mortal enmity, oppressed and murdered them whenever they got them in their power; Barchochab, their late general, making them the only objects of his greatest severity and revenge, unless they would renounce and blaspheme Christ. The issue of the conference was, that the Jew acknowledged himself highly pleased with his discourse, professing he found more in it than

[u] Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 17. [x] Vid. Dialog. cum Tryph. s. 120. [y] Dialog. cum Tryph. s. 1.
[z] Ibid. s. 108. et ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 18. [a] Dialog. cum Tryph. s. 96.
[b] Apol. i. s. 31.

he thought could have been expected from it, wishing he might enjoy it oftener, as what would greatly conduce to the true understanding of the scripture, and begging his friendship in what part of the world soever he was.

XII. In the conclusion of this discourse with Tryphon, he tells us, he was ready to set sail, and depart from Ephesus, but whether in order to his return to Rome, or some other place, is not known. That he returned thither at last, is unquestionable, the thing being evident, though the time uncertain, whether it was while Antoninus was yet alive, or in the beginning of his successor's reign, I will not venture to determine. At his coming he had, among others, frequent contests with Crescens, the philosopher, a man of some note at that time in Rome. He was a Cynic,[c] and, according to the genius of that sect, proud and conceited, surly and ill-natured, a philosopher in appearance, but a notorious slave to all vice and wickedness. Tatian,[d] Justin's scholar, (who saw the man at Rome, admired and despised him for his childish and trifling, his wanton and effeminate manners,) gives him this character, that he was the traducer of all their gods, the epitome of superstition, the accuser of generous and heroic actions, the subtle contriver of murders, the prompter of adultery, a pursuer of wealth even to rage and madness, a tutor of the vilest sort of lust, and the great engine and instigator of men's being condemned to execution: he tells us of him,[e] that when at Rome, he was, above all others, miserably enslaved to sodomy and covetousness; and though he pretended to despise death, yet did he himself abhor it; and to which, as the greatest evil, he sought to betray Justin and Tatian, for their free reproving the vicious and degenerate lives of those philosophical impostors. This was his adversary, φιλόψοφος οὐ φιλόσοφος, as he calls him,[f] a lover of popular applause, not of true wisdom and philosophy, and who, by all the base arts of insinuation, endeavoured to traduce the Christians, and to represent their religion under the most infamous character. But in all his disputes the martyr found him wretchedly ignorant of the affairs of Christians, and strongly biassed by malice and envy, which he offered to make good (if it might be admitted) in a public disputation with him before the emperor and the senate; assuring

[c] Vid. Hieron. de Script. in Justin.
[d] Orat. contr. Græc. s. 22.
[e] Ibid. c. 19.
[f] Apol. ii. s. 3.

them, that either he had never considered the Christian doctrines, and then he was worse than the meanest idiots, who are not wont to bear witness and pronounce sentence in matters whereof they have no knowledge; or if he had taken notice of them, it was plain that either he did not understand them, or if he did, out of a base compliance with his auditors, dissembled his knowledge and approbation, for fear of being accounted a Christian, and lest freely speaking his mind, he should fall under the sentence and the fate of Socrates; so far was he from the excellent principle of that wise man, that "no man was to be regarded before the truth:" which free and impartial censure did but more exasperate the man, the sooner to hasten and promote his ruin.

XIII. In the mean time Justin presented his second Apology to M. Antoninus (his colleague L. Verus being then, probably, absent from the city) and the senate; for that it was not addressed to the senate alone, is evident from several passages in the Apology itself. There are, that will have this as well as the former to have been presented to Antoninus Pius, but certainly without any just ground of evidence, besides that Eusebius and the ancients expressly ascribe it to Marcus Aurelius, his son and successor: and were the inscription and beginning of it, which are now wanting, extant, they would quickly determine and resolve the doubt. The occasion of it was this. A woman at Rome[g] had, together with her husband, lived in all manner of wantonness and debauchery, but being converted to Christianity, she sought by all arguments and persuasions to reclaim him from his loose and vicious course. But the man was obstinate, and deaf to all reason and importunity; however, by the advice of her friends, she still continued with him, hoping in time she might reduce him; till finding him to grow intolerable, she procured a bill of divorce from him. The man was so far from being cured, that he was more enraged by his wife's departure, and accused her to the emperor for being a Christian; she also put in her petition, to obtain leave to answer for herself; whereupon he deserted the prosecution of his wife, and fell upon one Ptolomeus, by whom she had been converted to the Christian faith, whom he procured to be cast into prison, and there a long time tortured merely upon his confessing himself a Christian. At last being brought before Urbicius, prefect to the city, he was condemned

[g] Apol. ii. a. 2.

to death: whereat Lucius, a Christian that stood by, could not forbear to tell the judge, it was very hard that an innocent and virtuous man, charged with no crime, should be adjudged to die merely for bearing the name of a Christian, a thing no way creditable to the government of such emperors as they had, and of the august senate of Rome; which he had no sooner said, but he was, together with a third person, sentenced to the same fate. The severity of these proceedings awakened Justin's solicitude and care for the rest of his brethren, who immediately drew up an Apology for them; wherein he lays down a true and naked relation of the case, complains of the injustice and cruelty of such procedures, to punish men merely for the name of Christians, without ever accusing them of any material crimes, answers the objections usually urged against them, and desires no more favour, than that what determination soever they should make of it, his Apology might be put before it, that so the whole world might judge of them, when they had been once truly acquainted with their case.

XIV. The Martyr's activity and zeal in the cause of Christianity did but set the keener edge upon Crescens's malice and rage against him. The philosopher could not confute him by force of argument, and therefore resolved to attack him by clancular and ignoble arts, and could think of no surer way to oppress him, than by engaging the secular powers against him. Marcus Antoninus, the emperor, was a great philosopher, but withal zealous of Pagan rites to the highest degree of superstition; he had from his youth been educated in the Salian college,[h] all the offices whereof he had gone through in his own person, affecting an imitation of Numa Pompilius, the first master of religious ceremonies among the Romans, from whom he pretended to derive his pedigree and original; nay, so very strict in his way of religion (says Dion[i]) that even upon the *Dies Nefasti*, the unlucky and inauspicious days, when all public sacrifices were prohibited, he would then privately offer sacrifices at home. What apprehensions he had of the Christians is evident from hence, that he ascribes their ready and resolute undergoing death,[k] not to a judicious and deliberate consideration, but to a ψιλὴ παράταξις, a mere stubbornness and obstinacy; which he,

[h] J. Capitol. in vit. M. Anton. c. 4.
[i] Excerpt. Dion. p. 721.
[k] Τῶν εἰς ἑαυτ. l. xi. s. 3.

being so eminent and professed a Stoic, had of all men in the world the least reason to charge them with. With him it was no hard matter for Crescens to insinuate himself, and to procure his particular disfavour towards Justin, a man so able, and so active to promote the interest of the Christian religion. Indeed Justin[l] himself had publicly told the emperor what he expected should be his own fate; that he looked that Crescens, or some of their titular philosophers, should lay snares to undermine, torment, or crucify him. Nor was he at all mistaken, the envious man procuring him to be cast in prison; where, if the Greeks say true,[m] he was exercised with many preparatory tortures in order to his martyrdom. I confess Eusebius gives us no particular account of his death, but the Acts of his Martyrdom are still extant,[n] and (as there is reason to believe) genuine and uncorrupt, the shortness of them being not the least argument that they are the sincere transcripts of the primitive records, and that they have for the main escaped the interpolations of later ages, which most others have been obnoxious to. I know it is doubted by one,[o] whether these Acts contain the martyrdom of ours, or another Justin: but whoever considers the particulars of them, most agreeable to our Justin, and especially their fixing his death under the prefecture of Rusticus, which Epiphanius expressly affirms of our St. Justin, will see little reason to question, whether they belong to him. In them then we have this following account.

XV. Justin and six of his companions having been apprehended, were brought before Rusticus, prefect of the city. This Rusticus was Q. Junius Rusticus,[p] a man famous both for court and camp, a wise statesman and great philosopher, peculiarly addicted to the sect of the Stoics. He was tutor to the present emperor M. Aurelius, and what remarkable rules and instructions he had given him, Antoninus himself sets down at large. Above all his masters he had a particular reverence and regard to him, communicated to him all his public and private counsels, shewed him respect before all the great officers of the empire, and after his death required of the senate that he might be honoured with a public statue. He had been consul in the

[l] Apol. ii. s. 3. [m] Men. Græc. Τῇ α'. τοῦ Ἰουν.
[n] Apud Sur. ad xii. Jun. et Baron. ad Ann. 165. n. 2. et seq. [o] Sur. loc. citat.
[p] J. Capitol in vit. M. Anton. c. 9. [q] Τῶν εἰς ἑαυτ l. i. s. 7.

second year of Adrian, and again in the second of the present emperor, and was now prefect of Rome; before whom these good men being brought, he persuaded Justin to obey the gods, and comply with the emperor's edicts. The martyr told him, that no man could be justly found fault with, or condemned, that obeyed the commands of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Then the governor inquired in what kind of learning and discipline he had been brought up: he told him, that he had endeavoured to understand all kinds of discipline, and tried all methods of learning, but had finally taken up his rest in the Christian discipline, how little soever it was esteemed by those who were led by error and false opinions. Wretch that thou art, (said the governor,) art thou then taken with that discipline? I am, replied the martyr, for with right doctrine do I follow the Christians. And when asked what that doctrine was; he answered, the right doctrine which we Christians piously profess, is this, We believe the one only God to be the Creator of all things visible and invisible, and confess our Lord Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, foretold by the prophets of old, and who shall hereafter come to be the Judge of mankind, a Saviour, Preacher, and Master to all those who are duly instructed by him: that as for himself, he thought himself too mean to be able to say any thing becoming his infinite deity; that this was the business of the prophets, who had many ages before foretold the coming of this Son of God into the world.

XVI. The prefect next inquired where the Christians were wont to assemble; and being told, that the God of the Christians was not confined to a particular place, he asked in what place Justin was wont to instruct his disciples; who gave him an account of the place where he dwelt, and told him that there he preached the Christian doctrine to all that resorted to him. Then having severally examined his companions, he again addressed himself to Justin in this manner. "Hear, thou that art noted for thy eloquence, and thinkest thou art in the truth; if I cause thee to be scourged from head to foot, thinkest thou thou shalt go to heaven?" He answered, that although he should suffer what the other had threatened, yet he hoped he should enjoy the portion of all true Christians, well knowing that the divine grace and favour was laid up for all such, and should be as long as the world endured. And when again

asked, whether he thought he should go to heaven, and receive a reward; he replied, that he did not think it only, but knew, and was so certain of it, that there was no cause to doubt it. The governor seeing it was to no purpose to argue, came closer to the matter in hand, and bade them go together, and unanimously sacrifice to the gods. No man (replied the martyr) that is in his right mind, will desert true religion to fall into error and impiety. And when threatened, that unless they complied they should be tormented without mercy; "There is nothing" (said Justin) "which we more earnestly desire, than to endure torments for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, and be saved. For this is that which will promote our happiness, and procure us confidence before that dreadful tribunal of our Lord and Saviour, before which, by the divine appointment, the whole world must appear." To which the rest assented, adding, "Despatch quickly what thou hast a mind to, for we are Christians, and cannot sacrifice to idols." Whereupon the governor pronounced this sentence; "They who refuse to do sacrifice to the gods, and to obey the imperial edict, let them be first scourged, and then beheaded according to the laws." The holy martyrs rejoiced and blessed God for the sentence passed upon them, and being led back to prison, were accordingly whipped, and afterwards beheaded. The Greeks in their rituals,[r] though very briefly, give the same account, only they differ in the manner of the martyr's death, which they tell us was by a draught of poison, while the rest of his companions lost their heads. Though there are that by that fatal potion understand no more than the poisonous malice and envy of Crescens the philosopher, by which Justin's death was procured. And indeed, if literally taken, the account of the Greeks in that place will not be very consistent with itself. Their dead bodies the Christians took up and decently interred. This was done, as Baronius conjectures, Ann. Chr. 165, with whom seems to concur the Alexandrine Chronicle,[s] which says, that Justin having presented his second Apology to the emperors, was not long after crowned with martyrdom. This is all the certainty that can be recovered concerning the time of his death, the date of it not being consigned by any other ancient writer. It is a vast mistake (or rather error of transcribers) of

[r] Men. Græcor. Τῇ α' τοῦ Ἰοῦν.

[s] Ad Ann. 2. Olymp. 236. M. Aurel. et L. Ver. Imp. 6. Indict. 3.

Epiphanius,[t] who makes him suffer under Adrian, when yet he could not be ignorant that he dedicated his first Apology to Antoninus Pius his successor, in the close whereof he makes mention of Adrian, his illustrious parent and predecessor, and annexes the letter which he had written to Minucius Fundanus in favour of the Christians; and no less his mistake (if it was not an error in the number) concerning his age, making him but thirty years old at the time of his death, a thing no ways consistent with the course of his life: and for what he adds of ἐν καθεστώσῃ ἡλικίᾳ, that he died in a firm and consistent age, it may be very well applied to many years after that period of his life.

XVII. Thus have we traced the martyr through the several stages of his life, and brought him to his last fatal period. And now let us view him a little nearer. He was a man of a pious mind, and a very virtuous life; tenderly sensible of the honour of God, and the great interests of religion. He was not elated, nor valued himself upon the account of his great abilities, but upon every occasion entirely resolved the glory of all into the divine grace and goodness. He had a true love to all men, and a mighty concern for the good of souls, whose happiness he continually prayed for and promoted, yea, that of their fiercest enemies. From none did he and his religion receive more bitter affronts and oppositions than from the Jews; yet he tells Tryphon that they heartily prayed for them,[u] and all other persecutors, that they might repent, and ceasing to blaspheme Christ, might believe in him, and be saved from eternal vengeance at his glorious appearing: that though they were wont solemnly to curse them in their synagogues,[x] and join with any that would persecute them to death, yet they returned no other answer than that, "You are our brethren, we beseech you own and embrace the truth of God." And in his Apology to the emperor and the senate,[y] he thus concludes, "I have no more to say, but that we shall endeavour what in us lies, and heartily pray, that all men in the world may be blessed with the knowledge and entertainment of the truth." In the pursuit of this noble and generous design he feared no dangers, but delivered himself with the greatest freedom and impartiality; he acquaints the emperors,[z]

[t] Hæres. xlvi. c. 1. [u] Dial. cum Tryph. s. 35. [x] Ibid. s. 96.
[y] Apol. ii. s. 15. [z] Apol. i. s. 2.

how much it was their duty to honour and esteem the truth; that he came not to smooth and flatter them, but to desire them to pass sentence according to the exactest rules of justice; that it was their place,[a] and infinitely reasonable, when they had heard the cause, to discharge the duty of righteous judges, which if they did not, they would at length be found inexcusable before God; nay, that if they went on to punish and persecute such innocent persons,[b] he tells them beforehand, it was impossible they should escape the future judgment of God, while they persisted in this evil and unrighteous course. In this case he regarded not the persons of men, nor was scared with the dangers that attended it; and therefore in his conference with the Jew, tells him,[c] that he regarded nothing but to speak the truth, not caring whom in this matter he disobliged, yea, though they should presently tear him all in pieces; neither fearing nor favouring his own countrymen the Samaritans, whom he had accused in his Apology to the emperor, for being so much bewitched and seduced with the impostures of Simon Magus, whom they cried up as a supreme deity, above all principality and power.

XVIII. For his natural endowments, he was a man of acute parts, a smart and pleasant wit, a judgment able to weigh the differences of things, and to adapt and accommodate them to the most useful purposes; all which were mightily improved and accomplished by the advantages of foreign studies, being both in the Christian and Ethnic philosophy, εἰς ἄκρον ἀνηγμένος, πολυμαθείᾳ τε καὶ ἱστοριῶν περιῤῥεόμενος πλούτῳ, says Photius,[d] arrived at the very height, flowing with abundance of history, and all sorts of learning. In one thing indeed he seems to have come short, and wherein the first fathers were generally defective, skill in the Hebrew, and other Eastern languages, as appears (to omit others) by one instance, his derivation of the word *Satanas; Sata*, (as he tells us,[e]) in the Hebrew and the Syriac signifying an "apostate," and *Nas* the same with the Hebrew *Sata;* out of the composition of both which arises this one word *Satanas:* a trifling conceit, and the less to be pardoned in one that was born and lived among the Samaritans and the Jews; every one that has but conversed with those languages at a distance,

[a] Apol. i. a. 3. [b] Ibid. a. 68. [c] Dial. cum Tryph. a. 120.
[d] Cod. CXXV. [e] Dial. cum Tryph. a. 103.

knowing it to spring from שטן "to be an adversary," which being formed according to the mode of the Greeks, (as Origen long since observed in this very instance,[f]) who were wont to add ας to the termination of words borrowed from a foreign language, becomes *Satanas*, "an adversary." And therefore a late author,[g] (who has weeded the writings of the ancients, and whose quotations savour of infinitely greater ostentation than either judgment or fidelity,) sufficiently betrays his ignorance in those very fathers, with which he pretends so much acquaintance, when to prove the *Quæst. et Resp. ad Orthodoxos*, not to be the genuine work of our Justin, he urges the odd and ridiculous interpretation of the word *Osanna*, there rendered by μεγαλοσύνη ὑπερκειμένη,[h] "super-excellent magnificence:" of the true signification whereof (says he) Justin himself being a Samaritan could not be ignorant; whenas his unquestionable tracts afford such evident footsteps of his lamentable unskilfulness in that language. But the man must be excused, seeing in this (as in many other things) he traded purely upon trust, securely stealing the whole passage word for word out of another author:[i] so little skill had he to distinguish between true and false, and to know when to follow his guides, and where to leave them. As for Justin himself, his ignorance herein is the less to be wondered at, if we consider that his religion, as a Gentile born, his early and almost sole converse with the Greeks, his constant study of the writings of the Gentile philosophers, might well make him a stranger to that language, which had not much in it to tempt a mere philosopher to learn it. In all other parts of learning how great his abilities were, may be seen in his writings yet extant, (to say nothing of them that are lost,) πεπαιδευμένης διανοίας καὶ περὶ τὰ θεῖα ἐσπουδακυίας ὑπομνήματα πάσης ὠφελείας ἔμπλεα, as Eusebius says of them,[k] the monuments of his singular parts, and of a mind studiously conversant about divine things, richly fraught with excellent and useful knowledge. They are all designed either in defence of the Christian religion both against Jews and Gentiles, or in beating down that common religion, and those profane and ridiculous rites of worship which then

[f] Contr. Cels. l. vi. c. 44.
[g] Sand. Tract. de Vet. Script. Eccl. Hist. Eccles. vol. i. Præfix. p. 44.
[h] Vid. Quæst. 50.
[i] Vid. Rivet. Crit. Sacr. l. ii. c. 5.
[k] Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 18.

governed the world, or in prescribing rules for the ordinary conduct of the Christian life, all which he has managed with an admirable acuteness and dexterity. Some books indeed have obtruded themselves under his name, as the *Expositio Fidei*, *Quæstiones et Responsa ad Orthodoxos*, *Quæstiones Græcanicæ ad Christianos*, *Quæstiones V. ad Græcos*, &c. all which are undoubtedly of a later age, composed after Christianity was fully settled in the world, and the Arian controversies had begun to disturb the Christian church: or if any of them were originally his, they have been so miserably interpolated and defaced by after-ages, that it is almost impossible to discern true from false.

XIX. As for the epistle to Diognetus, though excepted against by some, yet is it fairly able to maintain its title, without any just cause alleged against it. Nor is it improbable but that this might be that very Diognetus who was tutor to the emperor M. Aurelius, who (as himself confesses[1]) persuaded him to the study of philosophy, and gave him wise counsels and directions to that purpose, and being a person of note and eminency, is accordingly saluted by the martyr with a κράτιστε Διόγνητε, "most excellent Diognetus." His temper and course of life had made him infinitely curious (as is evident from the first part of that epistle) to know particularly what was the religion, what the manners and rites of Christians, what it was that inspired them with so brave and generous a courage, as to contemn the world, and to despise death; upon what grounds they rejected the religion, and disowned the deities of the Gentiles, and yet separated themselves from the Jewish discipline and way of worship; what was that admirable love and friendship by which they were so fast knit together, and why this novel institution came so late into the world: to all which inquiries (suitable enough to a man of a philosophic genius) Justin (to whom probably he had addressed himself as the most noted champion of the Christian cause) returns a very particular and rational satisfaction in this epistle, though what effect it had upon the philosopher is unknown. That this epistle is not mentioned by Eusebius, is no just exception, seeing he confesses there were many other books of Justin's,[m] besides those which he there reckons up: that it is a little more than ordinarily polite and

[1] M. Aurel. τῶν εἰς ἑαυτ. l. i. s. 6.

[m] Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 18.

philosophical, is yet less; for who can wonder if so great a scholar as Justin, writing to a person so eminent for learning and philosophy, endeavoured to give it all the advantages of a florid and eloquent discourse. It must be confessed that his ordinary style does not reach this; for which let us take Photius's censure,[n] a man able to pass a judgment in this case: "he studied not (says he) to set off the native beauty of philosophy with the paint and varnish of rhetorical arts: for which cause his discourses, though otherwise very weighty and powerful, and observing a composure agreeable enough to art and science, have not yet those sweet and luscious insinuations, those attractives and allurements, that are wont to prevail upon vulgar auditors, and to draw them after them."

XX. That which may seem most to impair the credit of this ancient and venerable man, is that he is commonly said to be guilty of some unorthodox sentiments and opinions, disagreeing with the received doctrines of the church. True it is, that he has some notions not warranted by general entertainment or the sense of the church, especially in later ages, but yet scarce any but what were held by most of the fathers in those early times, and which for the main are speculative and have no ill influence upon a good life; the most considerable whereof we shall here remark. First, he is charged with too much kindness and indulgence to the more eminent sort of heathens, and particularly toward Socrates, Heraclitus,[o] and such like: such, indeed, he seems to allow to have been in some sense Christians, and of Socrates particularly affirms,[p] that "Christ was ἀπὸ μέρους, in part known to him," and the like elsewhere more than once. The ground of all which was this, that such persons did μετὰ λόγου βιοῦν "live according to the λόγος, the word, or reason," and that this naturally is in every man, and manifest to him, if he but govern himself according to it. For the clearer understanding whereof it may not be amiss briefly to inquire in what sense the primitive fathers, and especially our Justin, use this word λόγος. And their notion was plainly this, that Christ was the eternal λόγος, or Word, of the Father, the sum and centre of all reason and wisdom, as the sun is the fountain of light, and that from him there was a λόγος, or reason, naturally derived into every man, as a beam and emanation of light from that

[n] Cod. CXXV. [o] Apol. i. a. 46. [p] Apol. ii. a. 10.

sun; to which purpose they usually bring that of St. John,[q] "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: that was the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world." "God, (says Justin,[r]) first and before the production of any creatures, begot of himself δύναμιν τίνα λογικὴν, a certain rational power, sometimes styled in scripture the glory of God, the Son, Wisdom, an Angel, God, Lord, and Word; by all which names he is described both according to the economy of his Father's will, and according to his voluntary generation of him." And elsewhere,[s] "We love and worship the Word of the unbegotten and ineffable God, which (Word) for our sakes became man, that by partaking of our sufferings he might work out our cure." Hence Christ is called τοῦ πάντος λόγος,[t] the universal Word; and with respect to him reason is styled σπερματικὸς λόγος, the seminal Word that is sown in our natures, τοῦ σπερματικοῦ θέου λόγου τὸ συγγενὲς,[u] and ἡ ἐνουσὰ ἐμφύτου τοῦ λόγου σπορὴ, the internal semination of the implanted Word, which he there distinguishes from the αὐτὸ τὸ σπέρμα, the primary and original seed itself, from which, according to the measure of grace given by it, all participation and imitation does proceed. This is that which he means by the σπέρματα ἀληθείας, the seeds of truth, which, he tells us,[x] seem to be in all men in the world; they are a derivation from Christ, who is the root, a kind of participation of a divine nature from him. Clemens of Alexandria thus deduces the pedigree: "The image of God (says he[y]) is his Word, (for the divine Word is the genuine offspring of the mind, the archetypal light of light,) and the image of the Word is man. The true mind that is in man, (said therefore to be made after the image and likeness of God,) as to the frame of the heart, is conformed to the divine Word, and by that means partakes of the Word or reason."

XXI. Origen, Clemens's scholar, treads exactly in his master's steps. He tells us,[z] that as God the Father is αὐτόθεος, the fountain of Deity to the Son, so God the Son, ὁ λόγος, the Word, or the supreme and eternal reason, is the fountain and

[q] John i. 1, 9. Vid. Orig. Com. in Joan. tom. i. s. 24.
[r] Dial. cum Tryph. c. 61 et 62. [s] Apol. ii. s. 13. [t] Ibid. s. 8.
[u] Ibid. s. 13. [x] Apol. i. s. 44. [y] Cohort. ad Gent. c. 10.
[z] Com. in Joan. tom. ii. s. 2, 3.

original that communicates reason to all rational beings, who, as such, are εἰκόνες τῆς εἰκόνος, the image of the image; that is, some kind of shadow of the Word, who is the brightness of his Father's glory, and the express image of his person. And he further adds, that λόγος, with an article, is meant of Christ, but without it, of that word or reason that is derived from him. The case then, in short, is this; every man naturally is endued with principles of reason, and lively notices of good and evil, as a light kindled from him, who is the Word and Wisdom of the Father, and may so far be said to partake of Christ, the primitive and original Word, and that more or less, according to their improvement of them; so that whatever wise and excellent things either philosophers or poets have spoken, says Justin the Martyr,[a] it was διὰ τὸ ἔμφυτον παντὶ γένει ἀνθρώπων σπέρμα τοῦ λόγου, from that seed of the λόγος, the Word, or reason that was implanted in all mankind: thus he says, that Socrates[b] exhorted the Greeks to the knowledge of the "unknown God" by the inquisition of the "Word." To conclude this, he nowhere affirms, that Gentiles might be saved without the entertainment of Christianity, nor that their knowledge was of itself sufficient to that end, (no man more strongly proves reason and natural philosophy to be of themselves insufficient to salvation,) but that so far as they improved their reason and internal word to the great and excellent purposes of religion, so far they were Christians, and akin to the eternal and original Word, and that whatever was rightly dictated or reformed by this inward word, either by Socrates[c] among the Greeks, or by others among the Barbarians, was in effect done by Christ himself, "the Word made flesh."

XXII. Another opinion with which he was charged is Chiliasm, or the reign of a thousand years. This, indeed, he expressly asserts,[d] that after the resurrection of the dead is over, Jerusalem should be rebuilt, beautified, and enlarged; where our Saviour, with all the holy patriarchs and prophets, the saints and martyrs, should visibly reign a thousand years. He confesses, indeed, that there are many sincere and devout Christians that would not subscribe to this opinion; but withal affirms, that there were abundance of the same mind with him: as indeed

[a] Apol. ii. a. 8. et vid. a. 10.
[b] Ibid. a. 10.
[c] Apol. i. a. 5.
[d] Dial. cum Tryph. a. 80, et vid. a. 139.

there were; Papias bishop of Hierapolis,[e] Irenæus bishop of Lyons,[f] Nepos,[g] Apollinaris,[h] Tertullian,[i] Victorinus,[k] Lactantius,[l] Severus Gallus,[m] and many more. The first that started this notion among the orthodox Christians of those early times seems to have been the fore-mentioned Papias, who (as Eusebius tells us[n]) pretended it to be an apostolical tradition, misunderstanding the apostles' discourses, and too lightly running away with what they meant in a mystical and hidden sense. For he was, though a good man, yet of no great depth of understanding, and so easily mistaken; and yet, as he observes, his mistake imposed upon several ecclesiastical persons, the venerable antiquity of the man recommending the error to them with great advantage. Among which especially were our St. Justin and Irenæus, who held it in an innocent and harmless sense. It is true, Cerinthus and his followers,[o] mixing it with Jewish dreams and fables, and pretending divine revelations to patronize and countenance it, improved it to brutish and sensual purposes, placing it in a state of eating and drinking, and all manner of bodily pleasures and delights. And what use heretics of later times have made of it, and how much they have improved and enlarged it, is not my present business to inquire.

XXIII. Concerning the state of the soul after this life, he affirms,[p] that the souls even of the prophets and righteous men fell under the power of demons, though how far that power should extend, he tells us not, grounding his assertion upon no other basis than the single instance of Samuel's being summoned up by the enchantments of the Pythoness. Nor does he assert it to be necessarily so, seeing he grants that by our hearty endeavours and prayers to God, our souls at the hour of their departure may escape the seizure of those evil powers. To this we may add, what he seems to maintain,[q] that the souls of good men are not received into heaven till the resurrection; that when

[e] Apud Iren. adv. Hæres. l. v. c. 33. Vid. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. ult.
[f] Id. ibid. [g] Ap. Euseb. l. vii. c. 24.
[h] Ap. Hieron. Comm. in Ezech. c. 36.
[i] Adv. Marcion. l. iii. c. 23. De Resur. Carn. c. 25.
[k] Apud Hieron. loc. supr. cit. [l] De vit. beat. l. vii. c. 24. 26. et seq.
[m] Ap. Hieron. ubi supr. vid. etiam de Script. Eccl. in Papia.
[n] Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 39.
[o] Caius ap. Euseb. lib. iii. c. 28. Dionys. Corinth. ibid. et l. vii. c. 25.
[p] Dial. cum Tryph. s. 105. [q] Ibid. s. 5.

they depart the body, they remain ἐν κρείττονί τοι χώρῳ, in a better state,[r] where being gathered within itself, the soul perpetually enjoys what it loved; but that the souls of the unrighteous and the wicked are thrust into a worse condition, where they expect the judgment of the great day: and he reckons it among the errors of some pretended Christians,[s] who denied the resurrection, and affirmed that their souls immediately after death were taken into heaven. Nor herein did he stand alone, but had the almost unanimous suffrage of primitive writers voting with him; Irenæus,[t] Tertullian,[u] Origen,[x] Hilary,[y] Prudentius,[z] Ambrose,[a] Augustine,[b] Anastasius Sinaita,[c] and, indeed, who not, there being a general concurrence in this matter, that the souls of the righteous were not, upon the dissolution, presently translated into heaven, that is, not admitted to a full and perfect fruition of the divine presence, but determined to certain secret and unknown repositories, where they enjoyed a state of imperfect blessedness, waiting for the accomplishment of it at the general resurrection, which intermediate state they will have described under the notion of Paradise and Abraham's bosom, and which some of them make to be a subterranean region within the bowels of the earth.

XXIV. The like concurrence, though not altogether so uncontrollably entertained of the ancients with our Justin, we may observe in his opinion concerning the angels,[d] that God having committed to them the care and superintendency of this sublunary world, they abused the power entrusted with them, mixing themselves with women in wanton and sensual embraces, of whom they begat a race and posterity of demons. An assertion not only intimated by Philo[e] and Josephus,[f] but expressly owned by Papias,[g] Athenagoras,[h] Clemens Alexandrinus,[i]

[r] Dial. cum Tryph. s. 5.
[s] Ibid. s. 80.
[t] Adv. Hæres. l. v. c. 31.
[u] Apol. c. 47.
[x] Περ. ἀρχ. l. ii. c. 12. l. iv. c. 2. confer. Philoc. c. 1. et Homil. vii. in Levit.
[y] Enarr. in Psal. cxx.
[z] Cathemer. Hymn. x.
[a] Ambros. de Cain et Ab. l. ii. c. 2. s. 9. De bon. Mort. c. x. s. 46.
[b] Enchirid. c. 109. vol. vi. p. 237. Enar. in Ps. xxxvi. Serm. i. s. 10. vol. iv. p. 263. Conc. 1. col. 281. tom. viii.
[c] Quæst. xci.
[d] Apol. ii. s. 5.
[e] De Gigant. vol. i. p. 263.
[f] Antiq. l. i. c. 4.
[g] Apud Andr. Cæsar. Comment. in Apoc. Serm. xii.
[h] Legat. pro Christ. s. 24.
[i] Stromat. l. v. c. 1.

Tertullian,[k] Cyprian,[l] Lactantius,[m] Sulpitius Severus,[n] St. Ambrose,[o] and many more. That which first gave birth to this opinion (easily embraced by those who held angels to be corporeal) was a misunderstanding that place, "the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they took them to wife, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men, men of renown."[p] And it more particularly furthered the mistake, that many ancient copies of the Septuagint (as is evident from Philo and St. Augustine, and the king's ancient Alexandrian manuscript at this day) instead of "the sons," read "the angels of God," which the fathers, who generally understood no Hebrew, were not able to correct. And I doubt not, what gave further patronage to this error, was the authority of the book of Enoch (highly valued by many in those days) wherein this story was related, as appears from the fragments of it still extant.

XXV. I might here also insist upon, what some find so much fault with in our martyr, his magnifying the power of man's will, which is notoriously known to have been the current doctrine of the fathers through all the first ages, till the rise of the Pelagian controversies; though still they generally own *χάριν ἐξαίρετον*, a mighty assistance of divine grace to raise up and enable the soul for divine and spiritual things. Justin[q] tells his adversary, that it is in vain for a man to think rightly to understand the mind of the ancient prophets, unless he be assisted *μετὰ μεγάλης χάριτος τῆς παρὰ Θεοῦ*, by a mighty grace derived from God. As well may the dry ground (says Irenæus[r]) produce fruit without rain to moisten it, as we, who at first are like dried sticks, be fruitful unto a good life, without voluntary showers from above, that is, (as he adds,) the laver of the Spirit. Clemens[s] of Alexandria affirms expressly, that as there is a free choice in us, so all is not placed in our own power, but that "by grace we are saved," though not without good works; and that to the doing of what is good *μάλιστα τῆς θείας χρήζομεν χάριτος*, "we especially need the grace of God," a right institution,

[k] De Hab. mul. seu de Cult. fœmin. l. i. c. 2.
[l] De Hab. Virg. p. 99.
[m] De Orig. error. l. ii. c. 14.
[n] Sacr. Hist. l. i. c. 2.
[o] De Noe et Arc. c. iv. s. 8.
[p] Gen. vi. 2, 4.
[q] Dial. cum Tryph. s. 92.
[r] Adv. Hæres. l. iii. c. 17. s. 2.
[s] Stromat. l. v. c. 13. et vid. c. 1.

an honest temper of mind, and that the Father draws us to him: and that the *τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτεξούσιον*, the powers of the will are never able to wing the soul for a due flight for heaven, without a mighty portion of grace to assist it. The mysteries of Christianity (as Origen[t] discourses against Celsus) cannot be duly contemplated without a better *afflatus* and more divine power; for "as no man knows the things of a man, save the spirit of a man that is in him; so no man knows the things of God, but the Spirit of God:"[u] it being all to no purpose (as he elsewhere observes) unless God by his grace does *φωτίζειν τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν*, enlighten the understanding. I add no more but that of Tertullian,[x] who asserts, that there is a power of divine grace, stronger than nature, which has in subjection the power of our free will. So evident it is, that when the fathers talk highest of the *αὐτεξούσιον*, and the powers of nature, they never intended to exclude and banish the grace of God. Some other disputable or disallowed opinions may be probably met with in this good man's writings, but which are mostly nice and philosophical. And indeed having been brought up under so many several institutions of philosophy, and coming (as most of the first fathers did) fresh out of the schools of Plato, it is the less to be wondered at, if the notions which he had there imbibed stuck to him, and he endeavoured, as much as might be, to reconcile the Platonic principles with the dictates of Christianity.

His Writings.

Genuine.

Parænesis ad Græcos.
Elenchus, seu Oratio ad Græcos.
Apologia pro Christianis prima.
Apologia pro Christianis secunda.
Liber de Monarchia Dei, *forsan in fine mutilus.*
Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo.
Epistola ad Diognetum.

Not Extant.

Liber de Anima.

Not Extant.

Liber Psaltes dictus.
Contra omnes Hæreses.
Contra Marcionem.
Commentarius in Hexameron (*cujus meminit Anastasius Sinaita.*)
De Resurrectione Carnis *teste Damasceno.*

Doubtful.

Aristotelicorum quorundam Dogmatum eversio.
Epistola ad Zenam et Serenum.

[t] Lib. iv. s. 30. vid. etiam s. 66.

[u] 1 Cor. ii. 11.

[x] Hæc erit vis divinæ gratiæ, potentior utique natura, habens in nobis subjacentem sibi liberam arbitrii potestatem, quod *αὐτεξούσιον* dicitur. De Anim. c. 21.

Supposititious.

Quæstiones et Respons. ad Græcos.

Quæstiones Græcanicæ, de incorporeo, etc. et ad easdem Christianæ Responsiones.

Quæstionum 146 Responsio ad Orthodoxos.[y]

Dubitationum adversus Religionem summariæ solutiones.

Expositio Fidei de S. Trinitate.

[y] Vid. an hic liber sit idem (sed interpolatus) de quo Photius hoc titulo.

THE LIFE OF SAINT IRENÆUS

BISHOP OF LYONS.

His country inquired into. His philosophical studies. His institution by Papias. Papias, who. His education under St. Polycarp. His coming into France, and being made presbyter of Lyons. Pothinus, who; how and by whom sent into France. The grievous persecution there under M. Aurelius. The letters of the martyrs to the bishop of Rome. Pope Eleutherius guilty of Montanism. Irenæus sent to Rome. His writing against Florinus and Blastus. The martyrdom of Pothinus bishop of Lyons, and the cruelty exercised towards him. Irenæus succeeds. His great diligence in his charge. His opposition of heretics. The synods said to have been held under him to that purpose. The Gnostic heresies spread in France. Their monstrous villanies. His confutation of them by word and writing. Variety of sects and divisions objected by the heathens against Christianity. This largely answered by Clemens of Alexandria. Pope Victor's reviving the controversy about Easter. The contests between him and the Asiatics. Several synods to determine this matter. Irenæus's moderate interposal. His synodical epistle to Victor. The persecution under Severus. Its rage about Lyons. Irenæus's martyrdom, and place of burial. His virtues. His industrious and elaborate confutation of the Gnostics. His style and phrase. Photius's censure of his works. His error concerning Christ's age. Miraculous gifts and powers common in his time. His writings.

SAINT Irenæus, may justly challenge to go next the martyr, ὁ ἐγγὺς τῶν ἀποστόλων γινόμενος, as St Basil styles him,[a] one near to the apostles, which St. Hierom[b] expresses by being a man of the apostolic times. His originals are so obscure, that some dispute has been, to what part of the world he belonged, whether East or West, though that he was a Greek there can be no just cause to doubt. The ancients having not particularly fixed the place of his nativity, he is generally supposed to have been born at Smyrna, or thereabouts. In his youth he wanted not an ingenuous education in the studies of philosophy and human learning, whereby he was prepared to be afterwards an useful instrument in the church. His first institution in the

[a] De Spirit. S. c. 29.

[b] Epist. liii. ad Theodor. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 581.

doctrine of Christianity was laid under some of the most eminent persons that then were in the Christian church. St. Hierom[c] makes him scholar to Papias bishop of Hierapolis, who had himself conversed with the apostles and their followers. This Papias (as Irenæus[d] and others inform us) was one of St. John's disciples; by whom though Eusebius understands not the apostle, but one surnamed the Elder, which he seems to collect from a passage of Papias himself,[e] yet evident it is, that though Papias in that place affirms, that he diligently picked up what memoirs he could meet with concerning the apostles from those that had attended and followed them, yet he no where denies that he himself conversed with them. He was (as Eusebius[f] characters him) a man very learned and eloquent, and knowing in the scriptures; though, as elsewhere he adds,[g] *σφόδρα σμικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν*, of a very weak and undiscerning judgment, especially in the more abstruse and mysterious parts of the Christian doctrine, which easily betrayed him, and others that followed him, into great errors and mistakes. He wrote five books, entitled *Λογίων Κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις*, "The explanation of our Lord's discourses;" and, as he in Photius intimates,[h] and the Alexandrine Chronicon expressly affirms,[i] died a martyr, being put to death at Pergamus, in the persecution under M. Aurelius. He is said to have trained up many scholars in the Christian institution, and among the rest our Irenæus: which though not improbable, yet we are sure, not only from the testimonies of Eusebius[k] and Theodoret,[l] but what is more, from his own,[m] that he was trained up under the tutorage and instructions of St. Polycarp bishop of Smyrna, and St. John's disciple, from whom he received the seeds of the true apostolic doctrine, and for whom he had so great a reverence and regard, that he took a most exact and particular notice of whatever was memorable in him, even to the minutest circumstances of his conversation, the memory whereof he preserved fresh and lively to his dying day.

II. By whose hands he was consecrated to the ministeries of

[c] Ibid. [d] Adv. Hæres. l. v. c. 33. et ap. Euseb. l. iii. c. 39. [e] Ap. Euseb. ibid.
[f] Ibid. c. 36. [g] Ibid. c. 39. [h] Steph. Gob. ap. Phot. Cod. CCXXXII.
[i] An. 3. Olymp. 235. Ind. 1. M. Aurel. 4.
[k] Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 5. [l] Adv. Hæres. dial. l.
[m] Epist. ad Flor. apud Euseb. l. v. c. 20. et Hieron. de Script. in Iren.

religion, as also when and upon what occasion he came into France, is not known. Probable it is that he accompanied St. Polycarp in his journey to Rome about the paschal controversy, where by his and Anicetus's persuasions he might be prevailed with to go for France, (in some parts whereof, and especially about Marseilles, great numbers of Greeks did reside,) then beginning to be overrun with those pernicious heresies, which at that time invaded and disturbed the church, that so he might be helpful and assisting to Pothinus, the aged bishop of Lyons, in quelling and subduing of them. This Pothinus, (if we may believe Gregory bishop of Tours,[n] who resided some time in this city with his uncle Nicetius bishop of it,) came out of the East, and had been despatched hither also by St. Polycarp, to govern and superintend this church. If it seem strange to any how St. Polycarp's care came to extend so far, as to send a bishop into so remote and distant parts of the world; it seems not improbable to suppose, that Lyons being a city famous for commerce and traffic, some of its merchants might trade to Smyrna, where being converted by Polycarp, they might desire of him to send some grave and able person along with them, to plant and propagate the Christian faith in their own country, which accordingly fell to Pothinus's share. But then, that this must needs be done by the authority, and ratified by the decree of the bishop of Rome, a learned man will never be able to convince us,[o] though he offers at three arguments to make it good: weak, I must needs say, and inconcluding, and which rather shew that he designed thereby to reconcile himself to the court of Rome, (whose favour at the time of his writing that tract he stood in need of, in order to his admission to the bishopric of St. Leiger de Conserans, to which he was nominated, and wherein he was delayed by that court, offended with his late book *De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*,) than argue the truth of what he asserts, so unsuitable are they to the learning and judgment of that great man. But I return to Irenæus. He came to Lyons, the metropolis of Gallia Celtica, situate upon the confluence of the two famous rivers the Rhone and La Saone, or the ancient Arar, famous among other things for its temple and altars, erected to the honour of Augustus, at the common charge of all France, where they held an annual solemnity from all parts of the country upon

[n] Hist. Franc. lib. i. c. 29. [o] P. de Marc. dissert. de Primat. n. 111. p. 227.

the first of August. and upon this day[p] it was that most of the martyrs suffered in the following persecution. These festival solemnities were usually celebrated not only with great contentions for learning and eloquence, but with sports and shows, and especially with the bloody conflicts of gladiators, with barbarous usages, and throwing malefactors to wild beasts in the amphitheatre; wherein the martyrs mentioned by Eusebius bore a sad and miserable part. Irenæus being arrived at Lyons, continued several years in the station of a presbyter, under the care and government of Pothinus, till a heavy storm arose upon them. For in the reign of M. Aurelius Antoninus, Ann. Chr. 177, began a violent persecution against the Christians,[q] which broke out in all places, but more peculiarly raged in France, whereof the churches of Lyons and Vienne, in a letter to them of Asia and Phrygia,[r] give them an account; where they tell them, it was impossible for them exactly to describe the brutish fierceness and cruelty of their enemies, and the severity of those torments which the martyrs suffered, banished from their houses, and forbid so much as to shew their heads; reproached, beaten, hurried from place to place, plundered, stoned, imprisoned, and there treated with all the expressions of an ungovernable rage and fury, as they particularly relate at large. The occasion[s] of writing this account, was a controversy lately raised in the Asian churches by Montanus and his followers, concerning the prophetic spirit, to which they pretended: for the composing whereof these churches thought good to send their judgment and opinion in the case, adjoining the epistles which several of the martyrs (while in prison) had written to those churches about that very matter; all which they annexed to their commentary about the martyrs' sufferings, penned, no doubt, by the hand of Irenæus.

III. Nor did the martyrs write only to the Asian churches, but to Eleutherius bishop of Rome, about these controversies. And just occasion there was for it, if (which is most probable) this very Eleutherius was infected with the errors of Montanus: for Tertullian tells us,[t] that the bishop of Rome did then own and embrace the prophecies of Montanus and his two prophetesses, and upon that account had given letters of peace to the churches

[p] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 1.
[q] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. v. præf.
[r] Apud Euseb. ibid.
[s] Euseb. ibid. c. 3.
[t] Adv. Prax. c. 1.

of Asia and Phrygia, though by the persuasions of one Praxeas he was afterwards prevailed with to revoke them: where by the way may be observed, that the infallibility of the pope was then from home, or so fast asleep, that the envious man could sow tares in the very pontifical chair itself. This bishop Baronius will have to be Anicetus,[a] but in all likelihood was our Eleutherius, who, in his after-commendation of the Montanists followed the example of his predecessors,[x] (no doubt Soter and Anicetus,) who had disowned and rejected Montanus's prophecy; nor can it well be otherwise conceived why the martyrs should so particularly write to him about it. And whereas Baronius would have pope Eleutherius dead long before Tertullian became a Montanist,[y] because in his book against heresies he styles him the blessed Eleutherius,[z] as if it were tantamount with *cujus memoria est in benedictione*, nothing was more common than to give that title to eminent persons while alive, as Alexander of Jerusalem calls Clemens Alexandrinus, who carried the letter, "the blessed Clemens,"[a] in his epistle to the church of Antioch; and the clergy of the church of Rome styles St. Cyprian,[b] (then in his retirement,) "the blessed pope Cyprian," in their letter to them of Carthage. To this Eleutherius then these martyrs directed their epistle: for the martyrs in those times had a mighty honour and reverence paid to them, and their sentence in any weighty case was always entertained with a just esteem and veneration. These letters they sent to Rome by Irenæus,[c] whom they persuaded to undertake the journey, and whom they particularly recommended to Eleutherius by a very honourable testimony, desiring him to receive him not only as their brother and companion, but as a zealous professor and defender of that religion which Christ had ratified with his blood. I know Mons. Valois will not allow that Irenæus actually went this journey;[d] that the martyrs indeed had desired him, and he had promised to undertake it, but that the heat of the persecution coming on, and he being fixed in the government and presidency over that church, could not be spared personally to undergo it. But since Eusebius clearly intimates and St. Hierom expressly

[a] Ad Ann. 173. n. 4. [x] Tertull. adv. Prax. c. 1. [y] Ad Ann. 201. n. 9.
[z] De Præscript. Hæret. c. 30. [a] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 11.
[b] Ad Cler. Carthag. Epist. viii. p. 15. Cypriani opp. [c] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 4.
[d] Annot. in Euseb. p. 91 et 92.

affirms,[e] that the martyrs sent him upon this errand, it is safest to grant his journey thither, though it must be while he was yet presbyter, for so they particularly say he was in their epistle to the bishop of Rome. And there probably it was that he took more particular notice of Florinus and Blastus,[f] who, being presbyters of the church of Rome, were about this time fallen into the Valentinian heresy; the first of whom he had formerly known with St. Polycarp in Asia,[g] and noted him for his soft and delicate manners, and to whom after his return home, as also to Blastus, he wrote epistles, to convince them of those novel and dangerous sentiments which they had espoused.

IV. And now the persecution at Lyons was daily carried on with a fiercer violence. Vast numbers had already gone to heaven through infinite and inexpressible racks and torments; and to crown all, Pothinus,[h] their reverend and aged bishop, above ninety years old, was seized, in order to his being sent the same way. Age and sickness had rendered him so infirm and weak, that he was hardly able to crawl to his execution. But he had a vigorous and sprightly soul in a decayed and ruinous body; and his great desire to give the highest testimony to his religion, and that Christ might triumph in his martyrdom, added new life and spirit to him. Being apprehended by the officers, he was brought before the public tribunal, the magistrates of the city following after, and the common people giving such loud and joyful acclamations, as if our Lord himself had been leading to execution. The governor presently asked him, who the God of the Christians was? Which he knowing to be a captious and sarcastic question, returned no other answer than "Wert thou worthy, thou shouldst know." Instruction takes hold only of the humble and obedient ear. Truth is usually lost by being exposed to the vicious and the scornful: it is in vain to hold a candle either to the blind that cannot, or to them that shut their eyes, and will not see: there is a reverence due to the principles of religion that obliges us "not to cast pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend us."[i] Hereupon, without any reverence to his age, or so much as respect to humanity itself, he was rudely dragged

[e] De Script. in Iren.
[f] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 15.
[g] Id. ibid. c. 20.
[h] Epist. Eccles. Lugd. et Vien. ap. Euseb. ibid. c. 1.
[i] Matt. vii. 6. et vid. Origen. Exhort. ad Martyr. a. 8.

away, and unmercifully beaten; they that were near kicking him with their feet, and striking him with their fists; they that were farther off, throwing at him what they could meet with, making whatsoever came next to hand the instruments of their fury: every man looking upon it as impious and piacular, not to do something that might testify his petulant scorn and rage against him. For by this means they thought to revenge the quarrel of their gods. But their savage cruelty thought it too much kindness to despatch him at once; it is like they intended him a second tragedy, which, if so, heaven disappointed their designs. For being taken up with scarce so much breath as would entitle him to live, he was thrown into the prison, where two days after he resigned up his soul to God.

V. The church of Lyons being thus deprived of its venerable guide, none could stand fairer for the chair than Irenæus, a person honoured and admired by all, who succeeded accordingly about the year 179, in a troublesome and tempestuous time. But he was a wise and skilful pilot, and steered the ship with a prudent conduct. And need enough there was both of his courage and his conduct; for the church at this time was not only assaulted by enemies from without, but undermined and betrayed by heresies within. The attempts of the one he endured with meekness and patience, while he endeavoured to prevent the infection and poison of the other by a diligent and vigilant circumspection, discovering their persons, laying open their designs, confuting and condemning their errors, so that "their folly was made manifest unto all." The author of the ancient Synodicon published by Pappus,[k] tells us of a provincial synod held at Lyons by Irenæus, where, with the assistance and suffrage of twelve other bishops, he condemned the heresies of Valentinus, Marcion, Basilides, and the rest of that anti-christian crew. Whence he derived this intelligence, I know not, it not being mentioned by any other of the ancients. However the thing itself is not improbable, Irenæus's zeal against that sort of men engaging him to oppose them both by word and writing; and especially when it is remembered what himself informs us of, that they had invaded his own province, and were come home to his very door. For having given us an account of Marcus, one of those Gnostic heresiarchs, and his followers,

[k] Edit. Argent. 1601. p. 2.

their beastly and licentious practices, and by what ludicrous and senseless arts, what magic and hellish rites they were wont to ensnare and initiate their seduced proselytes; he tells us,[l] they were come into the countries round him, all along the Rhone, where they generally prevailed (which seems to have been observed as a maxim and first principle by all authors of sects) upon the weaker sex, corrupting their minds, and debauching their bodies; whose cauterized consciences being afterwards awakened, some of them made public confession of their crimes, others, though deserting their party, were ashamed to return to the church, while others made a desperate and total apostacy from any pretences to the faith. With some of these ringleaders Irenæus had personally encountered,[m] and read the books of others, which gave him occasion (what the desires of many had importuned him to undertake) to set upon that elaborate work against heresies, wherein he has fully displayed their wild and fantastic principles, their brutish and abominable practices, and with such infinite pains endeavoured to refute them: though indeed so prodigiously extravagant, so utterly irreconcileable were they to any principles of sober reason, that as he himself observes,[n] it was victory enough over them, only to discover and detect them. This work he composed in the time of Eleutherius bishop of Rome, as is evident from his catalogue of the bishops of that see,[o] ending in Eleutherius, the twelfth successive bishop, who did then possess the place.

VI. And indeed it was but time for Irenæus and the rest of the wise and holy bishops of those days to bestir themselves, "grievous wolves having entered in, and made havoc of the flock." The field of the church was miserably overrun with tares, which did not only endanger the choking of religion within the church, but obstruct the planting and propagating the faith among them that were without: nothing being more commonly objected against the truth and divinity of the Christian religion, than that they were rent and torn into so many schisms and heresies. St. Clemens of Alexandria[p] particularly encounters this exception; some of whose excellent reasonings

[l] Adv. Hæres. l. i. c. 13. s. 7. vid Hieron. Epist. liii. ad Theodor. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 581.

[m] Præf. ad lib. i. [n] Lib. i. c. ult. s. 4.

[o] Lib. iii. c. 3. s. 3. et Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 6. [p] Stromat. l. vii. c. 15.

are to this effect. The first thing (says he) they charge upon us, and pretend why they cannot embrace the faith, is the diversity of sects that are among us, truth being delayed and neglected, while some assert one thing and some another. To which he answers, that there were various sects and parties both among the Jews and the philosophers of the Gentiles, and yet no man thought this a sufficient reason why they should cease to study philosophy, or adhere to the Jewish rites and discipline: that our Lord had foretold, that errors would spring up with truth, like tares growing up with the wheat, and that therefore it was no wonder if it accordingly came to pass; and that we ought not to be wanting to our duty, because others cast off theirs, but rather stick closer to them who continue constant in the profession of the truth: that a mind diseased and distempered with error and idolatry, ought no more to be discouraged from complying with an institution that will cure it, by reason of some differences and divisions that are in it, than a sick man would refuse to take any medicines, because of the different opinions that are among physicians, and that they do not all use the same prescriptions: that the apostle hath told us, that "there must be heresies, that they that are approved may be made manifest:"[q] that they heartily entertain the Christian doctrine, improve and persevere in faith and a holy life: that if truth be difficult to be discerned, yet the finding it out will abundantly recompence the trouble and the labour: that a wise man would not refuse to eat of fruit, because he must take a little pains to discover what is ripe and real, from that which is only painted and counterfeit. Shall the traveller resolve not to go his journey because there are a great many ways that cross and thwart the common road, and not rather inquire which is the plain and king's highway? or the husbandman refuse to till his ground, because weeds grow up together with the plants? We ought rather to make these differences an argument and incentive the more accurately to examine truth from falsehood, and realities from pretences, that escaping the snares that are plausibly laid, we may attain εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ὄντως οὔσης ἀληθείας, to the knowledge of that which is really truth indeed, and which is not hard to find, of them that sincerely seek it. But to return back to Irenæus.

[q] 1 Cor. xi. 19.

VII. Having passed over the times of the emperor Commodus, (the only honour of whose reign was, that he created no great disturbance to the Christians, being otherwise a most debauched and dissolute prince, in whom the vices of all his predecessors seemed to meet as in one common-sewer,) Eleutherius died, and Victor succeeded in the see of Rome. A man furious and intemperate, impatient of contradiction, and who let loose the reins to an impotent and ungovernable passion. He revived the controversy about the celebration of Easter, and endeavoured imperiously to impose the Roman custom, of keeping it on the next Lord's-day after the Jewish Passover, upon the churches of the Lesser Asia, and those who observed the contrary usage; and because they would not yield, rashly thundered out an excommunication against them, not only endeavouring, but, as Eusebius explains it in the following words,[r] actually proscribing and pronouncing them cut off from the communion of the church. The Asiatics, little regarding the fierce threatenings from Rome, under the conduct of Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, stood their ground, justifying their observing it upon the fourteenth day after the appearance of the moon, let it fall upon what day of the week it would, after the rule of the Jewish Passover, and this by constant tradition, and uninterrupted usage derived from St. John and St. Philip the apostles, St. Polycarp, and several others, to that very day: all which he told pope Victor, but prevailed nothing (as what will satisfy a wilful and passionate mind?) to prevent his rending the church in sunder. For the composure of this unhappy schism, synods were called in several places,[s] as besides one at Rome, one in Palestine under Theophilus bishop of Cæsarea Palestina, and Narcissus bishop of Jerusalem, another in Pontus under Palmas, and many more in other places, who were willing to lend their hands toward the quenching of the common flame, who all wrote to Victor sharply reproving him,[t] and advising him rather to mind what concerned the peace of the church, and the love and unity of Christians among one another. And among the rest our Irenæus (who, as Eusebius observes,[u] truly answered his name in his peaceable and peacemaking temper) convened a synod of the churches of France under his jurisdiction, where, with thirteen bishops besides him-

[r] Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 24.
[s] Id. ibid. c. 23.
[t] Id. ibid. c. 24.
[u] Ibid. c. 23.

self, (says the forementioned Synodicon[x]) he considered and determined of this matter. In whose name he wrote a synodical epistle to pope Victor,[y] wherein he told him that they agreed with him in the main of the controversy, but withal duly and gravely advised him to take heed how he excommunicated whole churches for observing the ancient customs derived down to them from their ancestors: that there was as little agreement in the manner of the preparatory fast before Easter, as in the day itself; some thinking that they were to fast but one day, (probably he means of the great or solemn week,) others two, others more, and some measuring the time by a continued fast of forty hours, (whether in memory of Christ's lying so long in the grave, or in imitation of his forty days' fast in the wilderness, I know not;) and that this variety was of long standing, and had crept into several places, while the governors of the church took less care about these different customs, who yet maintained a sincere and mutual love and peace towards one another, a thing practised by all his own pious predecessors; putting him in mind of Anicetus and Polycarp, who though they could not so far convince each other as to lay aside their different usages, did yet mutually embrace, orderly receive the communion together, and peaceably part from one another. And letters to the same effect he wrote to several other bishops for allaying the difference thus unhappily started in the church.

VIII. The calm and quiet days which the church had for some years of late enjoyed, now expired, and the wind changed into a more stormy quarter: Severus, the emperor, hitherto favourable, began a bitter and bloody persecution against the Christians, prosecuted with great severity in all parts of the empire. Himself had heretofore governed this very province of Lyons,[z] and probably had taken peculiar notice of Irenæus, and the flourishing state of the church in that city, and might therefore give more particular orders for the proceeding against them in this place. The persecution, that in other parts picked out some few to make them exemplary, here served all alike, and went through with the work. For so Gregory of Tours,[a] and the ancient martyrologies inform us,[b] that Irenæus having been

[x] Edit. Argent. 1601. p. 7.
[y] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 24.
[z] Æl. Spartian. in vit. Sever. c. 3.
[a] Hist. Franc. l. i. c. 29.
[b] Martyr. Rom. ad Jun. xxviii. Adon. Martyr. iv. Kalend. Jul.

prepared by several torments, was at length put to death, (beheaded, say the Greeks[c] likely enough,) and, together with him, almost all the Christians of that vast populous city, whose numbers could not be reckoned up, so that the streets of the city flowed with the blood of Christians. His body was taken up by Zacharias, his presbyter, and buried in a vault, laid between Epipodius and Alexander, who had suffered in the persecution under Antoninus. It is not easy to assign the certain date of his martyrdom, which may with almost equal probability be referred to a double period, either to the time of that bloody edict which Severus published against the Christians about the tenth year of his reign, Ann. Chr. 202, or to his expedition into Britain, Ann. Chr. 208, when he took Lyons in his way, and might see execution done with his own eyes. And indeed the vast numbers that are there said to have suffered, agree well enough with the temper of that fierce and cruel prince, who had conceived before a particular displeasure against the citizens of Lyons, and a worse against the Christians there.

IX. He was a true lover of God, and of the souls of men, for the promoting whose happiness he thought no dangers or difficulties to be great: he scrupled not to leave his own country, to take so troublesome and tedious a journey; and, instead of the smooth and polite manners of the Eastern nations, to fix his dwelling among a people of a wild and savage temper, and whom he must convert to civility, before he gained them to religion. Nor was it the least part of his trouble (as himself plainly intimates[d]) that he was forced to learn the language of the country, a rugged and (as he calls it) barbarous dialect, before he could do any good upon them. All which, and a great deal more, he cheerfully underwent, that he might be serviceable to the great interests of men. And because he knew that nothing usually more hinders the progress of piety, than to have men's minds vitiated and depraved with false and corrupt notions and principles; and that nothing could more expose the Christian religion to the scorn and contempt of wise and discerning men, than the wild schemes of those absurd and ridiculous opinions that were then set on foot, therefore he set himself with all imaginable industry to oppose them, reading over all their writings, considering and unravelling all their principles with incomparable patience as well

[c] Men. Græc. Τῇ κγ'. τοῦ Αὐγουστ.

[d] Præf. ad l. i.

as diligence, whence he is deservedly styled by Tertullian,[e] *Omnium doctrinarum curiosissimus explorator*, the most curious searcher into all kinds of doctrines: in the successful managery whereof he was greatly advantaged by the natural acumen and subtlety of his parts, and those studies of philosophy and human literature of which he had made himself master in his younger days, sufficient footsteps whereof appear in the writings which he left behind him. For besides his epistles, he wrote many volumes, (though he that tells us that he composed an ecclesiastical history,[f] which Eusebius made use of, reckons up one more than ever he wrote, and doubtless mistook it for his work *Adversus Hæreses*,) which are all lost, except his Five Books against Heresies, entitled anciently *Περὶ ἐλέγχου καὶ ἀνατροπῆς τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως*, "The confutation and Subversion of Knowledge falsely so called;" i. e. of Gnosticism; those abstruse and mystical heretics pretending that all sublime and excellent knowledge dwelt with them. What his proper style and phrase was in these books is not easily guessed, the far greatest part of the original Greek being wanting, (the conjecture of those who will have them originally penned in Latin is not worth the mentioning;) probably it was simple and unaffected, vulgar and ordinary, embased, it is like, and he seems to confess as much,[g] with the natural language of the country where he lived; nor had he studied the arts of rhetoric, the ornaments of speech, or had any skill in the elaborate methods and artifices of persuasion, as he modestly apologizes for himself.[h] However his discourses are grave and well digested, and (as far as the argument he manages would admit) clear and perspicuous; in all which he betrays a mighty zeal, and a spirit prepared for martyrdom: for the martyrs (as Erasmus truly notes[i]) have a certain serious, strenuous, and masculine way of writing beyond other men.

X. As for his works themselves, Photius[k] thus censures them: that in some of them the accuracy of truth in ecclesiastic doctrines is sophisticated *νόθοις λογισμοῖς*, with false and spurious reasonings, which ought to be taken notice of. In the books yet extant, there are some assertions that will not bear a strict rigorous examination, the principal whereof are such as we have already remarked in the Life of Justin Martyr, the rest

[e] Adv. Valent. c. 5. [f] Volaterr. Comm. Urban. l. xvi. col. 491.
[g] Præf. ad l. i. [h] Ibid. [i] Præf. in Iræn. [k] Cod. CXX.

are of an inferior and more inconsiderable notice. As for his affirming that our Lord was near fifty years of age[l] at the time of his public ministry, it was an error into which he was betrayed, partly from a false supposition that our Lord must be of a more mature and elderly age, that so he might deliver his doctrine with the greater authority; partly from a mistaken report (which he had somewhere picked up, and it may be from his master Papias) that St. John and the rest of the apostles had so affirmed and taught it; and partly out of opposition to his adversaries, who maintained that our Saviour stayed no longer upon earth than till the thirty-first year of his age; against whom the eagerness of disputation tempted him to make good his assertion from any plausible pretence, and to take the hint (though his impetus, and the desire of prosecuting his argument, would not give his thoughts leave to cool, and take the place into sober consideration) from that question of the Jews to Christ, "thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?"[m] whence *in transitu* he took it for granted that the Jews had some ground for what they said, and that he must be near that age.

XI. His care to have his writings derived pure and uncorrupted to posterity was great and admirable, adding to his book Περὶ ὀγδοάδος, this solemn and religious obtestation; "I adjure thee, whoever thou art that shalt transcribe this book, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and by his glorious coming, wherein he shall judge the quick and the dead, that thou compare what thou transcribest, and diligently correct it by the copy from whence thou transcribest it, and that thou likewise transcribe this adjuration, and annex it to thy copy."[n] And well had it been with the ancient writers of the church, had their books been treated with this care and reverence: more of them had been conveyed down to us; at least those few that are, had arrived more sound and unpolluted. I note no more (and it is what Eusebius long since thought worth taking notice of) than that in his time miraculous gifts and powers were very common in the church. For so he tells us,[o] that some expelled and cast out devils, the persons often embracing Christianity upon it; others had visions and revelations, and foretold things to come;

[l] Adv. Hæres. l. ii. c. 22. s. 5, 6. [m] John viii. 57. [n] Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 20.
[o] Adv. Hæres. l. ii. c. 32. s. 4. et ap. Euseb. l. v. c. 7.

some spake all manner of languages, and, as occasion was, discovered men's thoughts and secret purposes, and expounded the mysteries and deep things of God; others miraculously healed the sick, and by laying their hands upon them restored their health; and many raised the dead, the persons so raised living among them many years after. The gifts (as he speaks) which God, in the name of our crucified Lord, then bestowed upon the church being innumerable, all which they sincerely and freely improved to the great advantage and benefit of the world. Whence with just reason he urges the truth of our religion in general, and how much advantage true Christians had to triumph over all those impostors and seducers who sheltered themselves under the venerable title of being Christians.

His Writings.

Extant.

Adversus Hæreses, seu De refutatione et eversione falsæ scientiæ, Libri quinque.

Not Extant.

Libellus de Scientia adversus Gentes.

Demonstratio Apostolicæ prædicationis, ad Marcianum fratrem.

Liber de Ogdoade.

Epistola ad Blastum de Schismate.

Ad Florinum de Monarchia, seu Quod Deus non sit conditor mali, Epistola.

Ad Victorem Episcopum Romanum de Paschate, Epistola.

Ad varios Episcopos de eadem re, Epistolæ plures.

Variorum Tractatuum Liber.

THE LIFE OF SAINT THEOPHILUS

BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.

The great obscurity of his originals. His learned and ingenuous education, and natural parts. An account of his conversion to Christianity, and the reasons inducing him thereunto, collected out of his own writings. His scrupling the doctrine of the Resurrection. The great difficulty of entertaining that principle. Synesius's case. Theophilus's conquering this objection. His great satisfaction in the Christian religion. His election to the bishopric of Antioch. His desire to convert Autolycus. Autolycus, who. His mighty prejudice against Christianity. Theophilus's undertaking him, and his free and impartial debating the case with him. His excellent management of the controversy. His vigorous opposing the heresies of those times. His books against Marcion and Hermogenes. His death, and the time of it. St. Hierom's character of his works. His writings.

THOUGH the ancients furnish us with very few notices concerning this venerable bishop, yet perhaps it may not be unacceptable to the reader to pick up that little which may be found. The mistake is not worth confuting, and scarce deserves mentioning, that makes him the same with that Theophilus of Antioch, to whom St. Luke dedicates his evangelical writings, so great the distance of time (if there were nothing more) between them. Whether he was born at Antioch is uncertain: but wherever he was born, his parents were Gentiles, by whom he was brought up in the common rites of that religion that then governed the world. They gave him all the accomplishments of a learned and liberal education, and vast improvements he made in the progress of his studies, so that he was thoroughly versed in the writings of all the great masters of learning and philosophy in the heathen world: which being set off with a quick and a pleasant wit, (as appears from his disputes against the Gentiles,) rendered him a man of no inconsiderable note and account among them.

II. When or by what means converted to Christianity, is impossible particularly to determine: thus much only may be gathered from the discourses which he left behind him. Being a man of an inquisitive temper, and doubtless of a very honest mind, he gave up himself to a more free and impartial search into the nature and state of things. He found that the account of things which that religion gave, wherein he was then engaged, was altogether unsatisfactory; that the stories of their gods were absurd and frivolous, and some of them profane and impious; that their rites of worship were trifling and ridiculous: he considered the several parts of the creation, and that excellent providence that governed the world; wherein he easily discerned the plain notices of a wise and omnipotent Being, and that God had purposely disposed things thus, that his grandeur and majesty might appear to all. Accordingly he directs his friend to this method of conviction, as that which doubtless he had found most successful and satisfactory to himself. He bids him survey and consider the works of God;[a] the vicissitude and alteration of times, according to their proper seasons; the revolutions of the heavenly bodies; the wisely established course of the elements; the beautiful order and disposition of nights and days, and months and years; the pleasant and admirable variety of seeds, plants, and fruits; the manifold generations of beasts, birds, creeping things, fishes, and the inhabitants of the watery regions; the prudent instinct by which all these creatures are excited to preserve their kind, and nourish their young, and that not for their own advantage, but for the necessity and pleasure of mankind, God by a wise and secret providence having so ordained, that all things should be in subjection unto man. And, indeed, so strangely was he ravished with the consideration of this argument, that he professes,[b] that no man is able duly to describe the singular order and economy of the creation; no, though he had a thousand mouths, and as many tongues, and were to live in the world a thousand years, *διὰ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος, καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς σοφίας τοῦ Θεοῦ*, so incomprehensibly great and unfathomable is that divine wisdom that shines in the works of the creation. Thus prepared, he seems to have betaken himself (and to this also he advises Autolycus[c]) to the consideration of other volumes, the books that contained the religion of the

[a] Ad Autolyc. l. i. s. 6. [b] Ibid. l. ii. s. 12. [c] Ibid. s. 34.

Christians, especially the writings of the prophets, and to have weighed the importance of their revelations, the variety of the persons, the meanness and obscurity of their education, their exact harmony and agreement, the certainty of their predictions, and how accurately the prophecy and the event met together; so that (as he adds[d]) whoever would but seriously apply himself to the study of them, had a way ready open to come to the exact knowledge of the truth.

III. One thing there was, which he himself seems to intimate,[e] did more especially obstruct his full compliance with the Christian doctrine, the belief of the resurrection. He had been brought up in the schools of philosophy, where he had been taught, that from a privation of life there can be no return to the possession of it; it is like he could not conceive how men's scattered dust after so many ages could be recollected, and built up again into the same bodies. Indeed, there is scarce any principle of the Christian faith, that generally met with more opposition from the wise and the learned, and which was more difficultly admitted into their creed. When St. Paul preached to the philosophers at Athens, while he told them of a judgment to come, they made no scruple to give it entertainment, it being a principle evident by natural light, till he discoursed of a future resurrection; and this they rejected with contempt and scorn, "and when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked;"[f] and the most grave and sober took time to consider of it; "others said, we will hear thee again of this matter." And Synesius himself, that great philosopher, after his being baptized into the Christian religion, when courted by Theophilus of Alexandria to take upon him the bishopric of Ptolemais, would not yield till he had publicly entered his dissent to the doctrine of the resurrection,[g] at least as to the common explication of the article: he looked upon it as ἱερόν τι καὶ ἀπόῤῥητον, as containing a kind of sacred and ineffable mystery in it, but could not comply with the vulgar and received opinions; being willing probably to admit it, if he might explain it according to the principles of philosophy, and after the Platonic mode. Though why the credibility of this article should stick with any, that own a Being of infinite power, I see not: it being

[d] Ad Autolyc. l. ii. s. 35. [e] Ibid. l. i. s. 14. [f] Acts xvii. 32.
[g] Synes. Epist. cv. p. 249. Vid. Evagr. Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 15.

equally easy to Omnipotence (as Athenagoras[h] and others discourse upon this argument) to restore our scattered parts, and combine them again into the same mass, as it was at first to create them out of nothing. But to return to our Theophilus. By a frequent reflection upon those many shadows of a resurrection,[i] which God hath impressed upon the course of nature, and the standing phenomena of Divine Providence, he conquered this objection, especially after he had conversed with, and embraced the holy volumes, wherein these things were so positively declared and published. And thus he became a Christian; being baffled and disappointed in all other refuges, he took sanctuary in the church, which (as himself expresses it[k]) God has set in the world, like an island in the midst of the sea, into whose safe and convenient harbours the lovers of truth might fly, and all those who desired to be saved, and to escape the judgment and the wrath to come. And glad he was that he was got thither,[l] rejoicing that he bore the name of a Christian, τὸ Θεοφιλὲς ὄνομα, that name that was so dear to God, how much soever otherwise despised and scorned by an ignorant and evil age.

IV. About the year 169,[m] (Eutychius refers it to the sixteenth year of Antoninus's reign,[n]) or rather the year before, his predecessor Eros being dead, he was made bishop of Antioch, accounted by some the sixth, by the others the seventh bishop of that see: and neither of them mistaken, both being true according to different computations, some reckoning St. Peter the first, while others beholding him as an apostle, and as acting in a larger and more oecumenical sphere than a private bishop, begin the account from Euodius as the first bishop of it. St. Theophilus, thus fixed in his charge, set himself to promote the true interest and happiness of men; and as goodness always delights to communicate and diffuse itself, he studied to bring over others to that faith, which he had entertained himself. Among the rest he attempted a person of note, his great friend Autolycus. Who this Autolycus was we have no account, more than what is given us by Theophilus himself.[o] He was a person learned and eloquent, curious in all arts and sciences, the acquist whereof he pursued with so indefatigable a diligence, that he would bury

[h] De Resurr. mort. s. 3.
[i] Ad Autolyc. l. i. s. 13.
[k] Ibid. l. ii. s. 14.
[l] Ibid. l. i. s. i.
[m] Euseb. Chron. eod. anno.
[n] Annal. vol. i. p. 359.
[o] Ad Autolyc. l. iii. s. 4.

himself among books, and steal hours for study from his necessary rest, spending whole nights in libraries, and in conversing with the monuments of the dead. But withal a Gentile,[p] infinitely zealous for his religion, and unreasonably prejudiced against Christianity, which he cried out of as the highest folly and madness, and loaded with all the common charges and calumnies which either the wit or malice of those times had invented to make it odious, and for the defence and vindication whereof he had bitterly quarrelled with Theophilus. This notwithstanding, he is not affrighted from undertaking him, but treats him with all the freedom and ingenuity that became a friend and a philosopher; tells him that the cause was in himself,[q] why he did not discern and embrace the truth; that his wickedness and impieties had depraved his mind, and darkened his understanding; and that men were not to blame the sun for want of light, when themselves were blind, and wanted eyes to see it; that the rust and soil must be wiped off from the glass before it would make a true and clear representation of the object; and that God would not discover himself, but to purged and prepared minds, and such who by innocency and a divine life were become fit and disposed to receive and entertain him. Then he explains to him the nature of God, and gives him an account of the origin of the world according to the Christian doctrine, disproves and derides the ridiculous deities of the heathens, and particularly answers those black imputations usually laid upon the Christians; and because Autolycus had mainly urged the lateness and novelty of the Christian faith, he shews at large how much superior it was in many parts of it in point of seniority, and that by many ages, to any thing which the heathen religion could pretend to: pressing him at every turn to comply with so excellent a religion, and assuring him the people,[r] whom he invited him to, were so far from being such as he represented them, that they lived under the conduct of modesty and sobriety, temperance and chastity, banished injustice, and rooted up all vice and wickedness, loved righteousness, lived under law and rule, exercised a divine religion, acknowledged God, served the truth, were under the preservation of grace and peace, directed by a sacred word, taught by wisdom, rewarded by a life im-

[p] Ad Autolyc. l. ii. a. 2. [q] Ibid. l. i. a. 2. [r] Ibid. l. iii. a. 15.

mortal, and governed by God himself. What the issue of his discourses was, we cannot tell, but may probably hope they had a desired success; especially since we find Autolycus,[s] after the first conference, a little more favourable to the cause, abating of his conceived displeasure against Theophilus, and desiring of him a further account of his religion. And certainly, if wisdom and eloquence, if strength of reason and a prudent managing the controversy, were able to do it, he could not well fail of reclaiming the man from his error and idolatry.

V. Nor was he more solicitous to gain others to the faith, than he was to keep those who already had embraced it from being infected and depraved with error. For which cause he continually stood upon his guard, faithfully gave warning of the approach of heresy, and vigorously set himself against it. For notwithstanding the care and vigilance of the good and pious men of those days, (as Eusebius observes,[t]) envious men crept in, and sowed tares among the sincere apostolic doctrine: so that the pastors of the church were forced to rise up in every place, and to set themselves to drive away these wild beasts from Christ's sheep-fold, partly by exhorting and warning the brethren, partly by entering the lists with the heretics themselves, some personally disputing with, and confuting them, others accurately convincing and refuting their opinions by the books which they wrote against them. Among whom he tells us was our Theophilus, who conflicted with these heretics, and particularly wrote against Marcion, who asserted two deities, and that the soul only, as being the divine and better part, and not the body, was capable of the happiness of the other world, and this too granted to none but his followers, with many such impious and fond opinions. Another book he wrote against Hermogenes, one better skilled in painting than drawing schemes of new divinity; he forsook the church, and fled to the Stoics, and being tinctured with their principles maintained matter to be eternal, out of which God created all things, and that all evils proceeded out of matter; asserting moreover, (as Clemens of Alexandria informs us,[u]) that our Lord's body was lodged in the sun, ridiculously interpreting that place,[x] "in them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun." Nor did our Theophilus neglect the

[s] Ad Autolyc. l. ii. s. 1.
[t] Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 24.
[u] In Scriptt. Prophet. eclog. ap. Clem. Alex. s. 56.
[x] Ps. xix. 4.

weak and younger part of the charge; he had not only physic for the sick, and "strong meat for them of full age, but milk for babes, and such as were yet unskilful in the word of righteousness,"[y] composing many catechetic discourses, that contained the first rudiments of the faith.

VI. He sat thirteen years in his bishopric,[z] (twenty-one says the Patriarch of Alexandria,[a]) and died about the second or third year of the emperor Commodus; for that he outlived M. Antoninus, is evident from his mentioning his death and the time of his reign in his discourses with Autolycus,[b] after which he composed those discourses, but what kind of death it was, whether natural or violent, is to me unknown. From the calmness and tranquillity of Commodus's reign, as to any persecution against the Christians, we may probably guess it to have been a peaceable and quiet death. Books he wrote many, whereof St. Hierom gives this character,[c] that they were elegant tracts, and greatly conducive to the edification of the church. And further adds, that he had met with Commentaries upon the Gospel and the Proverbs of Solomon, bearing his name, but which seemed not to answer his other writings in the elegancy and politeness of the style.

His writings.

Extant.

Ad Autolycum Libri tres.

Not extant.

Contra Hæresin Hermogenis.

Adversus Marcionem.

Libri aliquot Catechetici.

Doubtful.

Commentarii in Evangelium.

Commentarii in Proverbia Solomonis.

[y] Heb. v. 13, 14.

[z] Niceph. C. P. Chronograph. ap. Thes. Temp. Eusebii per Scaliger. p. 311.

[a] Eutych. Annal. vol. i. p. 359.

[b] Ad Autol. l. iii. a. 27.

[c] Hieron. de Script. in Theoph.

THE LIFE OF SAINT MELITO

BISHOP OF SARDIS.

His country and birth-place. His excellent parts and learning. His being made bishop of Sardis. His celibacy. His prophetic gifts. The persecution under Marcus Aurelius. Melito's Apology for the Christians. A fragment of it cited out of Eusebius. The great advantages of Christianity to the empire. His endeavour to compose the Paschal controversy. His book concerning that subject. His journey to Jerusalem to search what books of the Old Testament were received by that church. The copy of his letter to his brother Onesimus concerning the canon of the Old Testament. What books admitted by the ancient church. Solomon's Proverbs styled by the ancients the Book of Wisdom. His death and burial. The great variety of his works. Unjustly suspected of dangerous notions. An account given of the titles of two of his books most liable to suspicion. His writings enumerated.

Saint Melito was born in Asia, and probably at Sardis, the metropolis of Lydia, a great and ancient city, the seat of the Lydian kings; it was one of the seven churches to which St. John wrote epistles, and wherein he takes notice of some that durst own and stand up for God and religion, in that great degeneracy that was come upon it. He was a man of admirable parts, enriched with the furniture of all useful learning, acute and eloquent, but especially conversant in the paths of divine knowledge, having made deep inquiries into all the more uncommon parts and speculations of the Christian doctrine. He was for his singular eminency and usefulness chosen bishop of Sardis, though we cannot exactly define the time, which were I to conjecture, I should guess it about the latter end of Antoninus Pius's reign, or the beginning of his successor's. He filled up all the parts of a very excellent governor and guide of souls, whose good he was careful to advance both by word and writing: which that he might attend with less solicitude and distraction, he not only kept himself within the compass of a single

life, but was more than ordinarily exemplary for his chastity and sobriety, his self-denial and contempt of the world; upon which account he is by Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, styled an eunuch;[a] that is, in our Saviour's explication, one of those "who make themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake;"[b] who for the service of religion, and the hopes of a better life, are content to deny themselves the comforts of a married state, and to renounce even the lawful pleasures of this world. And God, who delights to multiply his grace upon pious and holy souls, crowned his other virtues with the gift of prophecy; for so Tertullian tells us,[c] that he was accounted by the orthodox Christians as a prophet; and Polycrates says of him,[d] that he did ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι πάντα πολιτεύεσθαι, was in all things governed and directed by the afflatus and suggestion of the Holy Ghost. Accordingly in the catalogue of his writings,[e] we find one, περὶ πολιτείας, καὶ προφητῶν, of the right way of living, and concerning prophets, and another concerning prophecy.

II. It was about the year 170, and the tenth of M. Antoninus,[f] (his brother L. Verus having died the year before of an apoplexy, as he sat in his chariot,) when the persecution grew high against the Christians, greedy and malicious men taking occasion from the imperial edicts lately published, by all the methods of cruelty and rapine to oppress and spoil innocent Christians. Whereupon as others, so especially St. Melito[g] presents an apology and humble supplication in their behalf to the emperor, wherein, among other things, he thus bespeaks him. "If these things, sir, be done by your order, let them be thought well done. For a righteous prince will not at any time command what is unjust; and we shall not think much to undergo the award of such a death. This only request we beg, that yourself would please first to examine the case of these resolute persons, and then impartially determine, whether they deserve punishment and death, or safety and protection. But if this new edict and decree, which ought not to have been proclaimed against the most barbarous enemies, did not come out with your cognizance and consent, we humbly pray, and

[a] Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 24.
[b] Matt. xix. 12.
[c] Ap. Hieron. de Script. in Melit.
[d] Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 24.
[e] Ibid. l. iv. c. 26.
[f] Euseb. Chron. ad Ann. 171.
[g] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 26.

that with the greater importunity, that you would not suffer us to be any longer exposed to this public rapine."

III. After this he put him in mind how much the empire had prospered since the rise of Christianity, and that none but the worst of his predecessors had entertained an implacable spite against the Christians. "This new sect of philosophy (says he) which we profess, heretofore flourished among the Barbarians, (by which probably he means the Jews.) Afterwards, under the reign of Augustus, your predecessor, it spread itself over the provinces of your empire, commencing with a happy omen to it: since which time the majesty and greatness of the Roman empire hath mightily increased, whereof you are the wished-for heir and successor, and together with your son shall so continue, especially while you protect that religion, which begun with Augustus, and grew up together with the empire, and for which your predecessors had, together with other rites of worship, some kind of reverence and regard. And that our religion, which was bred up with the prosperity of the empire, was born for public good, there is this great argument to convince you, that since the reign of Augustus there has no considerable mischief happened; but, on the contrary, all things according to every one's desire have fallen out glorious and successful. None but Nero and Domitian, instigated by cruel and ill-minded men, have attempted to reproach and calumniate our religion; whence sprang the common slanders concerning us, the injudicious vulgar greedily entertaining such reports without any strict examination. But your parents of religious memory gave a check to this ignorance and injustice, by frequent rescripts reproving those who made any new attempts in this matter. Among whom was your grandfather Adrian, who wrote, as to several others, so to Fundanus, the proconsul of Asia; and your father, at what time yourself was colleague with him in the empire, wrote to several cities (particularly to Larissæa, Thessalonica, Athens, and all the cities of Greece) that they should not create any new disturbance about this affair. And for yourself, who have the same opinion of us which they had, and a great deal better, more becoming a good man and a philosopher, we promise ourselves that you will grant all our petitions and requests." An address, managed with great prudence and ingenuous freedom, and which striking in with other apologies presented about the same time, did not

a little contribute to the general quiet and prosperity of Christians.

IV. Nor was he so wholly swallowed up with care for the general peace of Christians, as to neglect the particular good of his own, or neighbour churches. During the government of Servilius Paulus, proconsul of Asia, Sagaris, bishop of Laodicea, had suffered martyrdom in the late persecution; at what time the controversy about the paschal solemnity[h] was hotly ventilated in that church, some, strangers probably, urging the observation of the festival according to the Roman usage, celebrating it upon the Lord's-day, contrary to the custom of those churches, who had ever kept it upon the fourteenth day of the moon, according to the manner of the Jews. For the quieting of which contention Melito presently wrote two books *περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα*, "concerning the Passover," wherein no doubt he treated at large of the celebration of Easter according to the observation of the Asian churches, and therefore Polycrates in his letter to pope Victor particularly reckons Sagaris and Melito[i] among the chief champions of the cause. This Paschal book of St. Melito was mentioned also by Clemens of Alexandria[k] in a tract concerning the same subject, wherein he confesses that he was moved to that undertaking by the discourse which Melito had published upon that subject.

V. How unwearied is true goodness and a love to souls! how willing to digest any difficulties, by which another's happiness may be advanced! His brother Onesimus had desired of him to remark such passages of the Old Testament as principally made for the confirmation of the Christian religion, and to let him know how many of those books were admitted into the holy canon. Wherein that he might at once thoroughly satisfy both his brother and himself, he took a journey on purpose into the East, that is, I suppose, to Jerusalem, where he was likeliest to receive full satisfaction in this matter, and where having informed himself, he gave his brother at his return an account of it. The letter itself, because but short, and containing so authentic an evidence what books of the Old Testament were received by the ancient church, we shall here subjoin.

"Melito to his brother Onesimus, greeting.

"Forasmuch as out of your great love to and delight in the

[h] Ipse Melit. ap. Euseb. l. iv. c. 26. [i] Ibid. l. v. c. 24. [k] Ibid. l. iv. c. 26.

holy scriptures, you have oft desired me to collect such passages out of the Law and the Prophets as relate to our Saviour and the several parts of our Christian faith, and to be certainly informed of the books of the Old Testament, how many in number, and in what order they were written, I have endeavoured to comply with your desires in this affair. For I know your great zeal and care concerning the faith, and how much you desire to be instructed in matters of religion, and especially out of your love to God how infinitely you prefer these above all other things, and are solicitous about your eternal salvation. In order hereunto, I travelled into the East; and being arrived at the place where these things were done and published, and having accurately informed myself of the books of the Old Testament, I have sent you the following account. The five books of Moses: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. Jesus or Joshua the son of Nun. Judges. Ruth. The four books of Kings. Two books of Chronicles. The Psalms of David. The Proverbs of Solomon, which is Wisdom. Ecclesiastes. The Song of Songs. Job. The Prophets: Isaiah. Jeremiah. The twelve [minor] Prophets in one book. Daniel. Ezekiel. Esdras or Ezra. Out of all which I have made collections, which I have digested into six books."

VI. In which catalogue we may observe the book of Esther is omitted, as it is also by St. Athanasius,[l] Gregory Nazianzen,[m] and Leontius,[n] in their enumeration of the books of the holy canon: though for what reason is uncertain, unless (as Sixtus Senensis [o] not improbably conjectures) because it was not in those times looked upon as of such unquestionable credit and authority as the rest; the spurious additions at the end of it causing the whole book to be called in question. Nor is here any particular mention made of Nehemiah, probably because it was anciently comprehended under that of Esdras. And by that of Wisdom we see is not meant the apocryphal book, called the Wisdom of Solomon, (as Bellarmine,[p] and most writers of that church confidently enough assert,) but his Proverbs, of which Eusebius[q] expressly tells us, that not only Hegesippus but Irenæus, and all

[l] Synops. S. Script. vol. iii. p. 128.
[m] Carm. xxxiii. vol. ii. p. 98.
[n] De Sect. Act. ii. p. 497. vol. i. bibl. Patrum. ed. 1624.
[o] Biblioth. Sanct. l. i. p. 6.
[p] De Script. Eccl. in Melit. ad Ann. 150.
[q] Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 22.

the ancients, were wont to call the Proverbs of Solomon by the name of Wisdom, *πανάρετον σοφίαν*, a wisdom containing a system of all kind of virtues. And indeed that Melito in this place could mean no other, the words of his letter, as restored by Valesius, (*Σολόμωνος παροιμίαι, ἢ καὶ Σοφία,*) according to Nicephorus's quotation, and the faith of all the best and most ancient manuscripts, puts the case beyond all peradventure.

VII. At last this good man, broken with infinite pains and labours, and wearied with the inquietudes of a troublesome world, retreated to the place of rest. The time and manner of his death is unknown; this only we find,[r] that he died, and lies buried at Sardis, waiting *τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐπισκοπὴν*, the episcopal visitation from heaven, when our Lord shall come and raise him up from the dead. He was a man, besides the piety of his mind and the strictness and innocency of his life, of great parts and learning; he had *elegans et declamatorium ingenium*, as Tertullian said of him,[s] a smart elegant wit, able to represent things with their most proper aggravations. He wrote books almost in all kinds of subjects, divine, moral, and philosophical, the monuments of no less industry than learning, which are all long since lost, some very few fragments only excepted. I know there are that suspected him to have had notions less orthodox about some of the great principles of religion: which I confess seems to me a most uncharitable and unjust reflection upon so holy and so good a man, especially seeing the conjecture is founded upon the mere titles of some of his books, none of the books themselves being extant, and of those titles a fair account might be given to satisfy any sober and impartial man; there being but two that can be liable to exception, the one *Περὶ ἐνσωμάτου Θεοῦ*, *de Deo*, not *Corporeo*, (however Theodoret,[t] and as it seems from Origen, understands it,) but *Corporato* (as Tertullian would express it) *de Deo corpore induto*, as Rufinus of old translated it, concerning God clothed with a body, or "the Word made flesh;" the other *Περὶ κτίσεως* (most copies read *πίστεως*) *καὶ γενέσεως Χριστοῦ*, of the creation and generation of Christ. Where admit it to have been *κτίσεως*, creation, he alluded I doubt not to that of Solomon,[u] "the Lord possessed, *ἔκτισε*, created me in the beginning of his way." And evi-

[r] Polycrat. Ep. ap. Euseb. l. v. c. 24.
[s] Apud Hieron. de Script. in Melit.
[t] Theod. Quest. xx. in Genes. vol. i. p. 32.
[u] Prov. viii. 22.

dent it is, that before the rise of the Arian controversies the fathers used the word for any manner of production,[x] and usually understand that place of Solomon of the ineffable generation of the Son of God.

His writings, none whereof are now extant.

De Paschate, Libri duo.
De recta vivendi ratione, et de Prophetis, Liber unus.
De Ecclesia.
De die Dominica.
De Natura Hominis.
De Creatione.
De obedientia sensuum fidei.
De Anima, et corpore, et mente.
De Lavacro.
De Veritate.
De fide [Creatione] et Generatione Christi.
De Prophetia.
De Hospitalitate.
Liber Clavis dictus.
De Diabolo.
De Joannis Apocalypsi.
De Incarnatione Dei.
Apologia ad Imp. Antoninum.
Excerptorum ex libris Veteris Testamenti, Libri sex.

[x] Vid. Constit. Apostt. l. v. c. 19. Tertull. adv. Prax. c. 5, 6, 7.

THE LIFE OF SAINT PANTÆNUS

CATECHIST OF ALEXANDRIA.

The various conjectures concerning his original. The probabilities of his Jewish descent, what. Whether born in Sicily or at Alexandria. His first institution. The famous Platonic school erected by Ammonius at Alexandria. The renown of that place for other parts of learning. Pantænus addicted to the sect of the Stoics. The principles of that sect shewed to agree best with the dictates of Christianity. His great improvements in the Christian doctrine. The catechetic school at Alexandria, with its antiquity. Pantænus made regent of it. When he first entered upon this office. An embassy from India to the bishop of Alexandria for some to preach the Christian faith. Pantænus sent upon this errand. This country where situate. His arrival in India, and converse with the Brachmans. Their temper, principles, and way of life. Their agreement with the Stoics. Footsteps of Christianity formerly planted there. St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel found among them and brought by Pantænus to Alexandria. How far and by whom Christianity was propagated in India afterwards. Pantænus's return to Alexandria, and resuming his catechetic office. His death. His great piety and learning.

THE silence of antiquity as to the country and kindred of this excellent person has administered to variety of conjectures concerning his original. Some conceive him to have been born of Jewish parents, and they of note and quality. For Clemens Alexandrinus,[a] reckoning up his tutors, tells us that one (whom he names last) was of Palestine, an Hebrew of very long descent; and then adds, that having found the last, (meaning, say some, the last of those whom he had reckoned up,) though he justly deserved to be placed first, after he had with infinite diligence and curiosity hunted him out in Egypt, where he lay obscure, he sat down under his discipline and institution. This person Eusebius plainly supposes to have been our Pantænus;[b] and that he intended him in the latter clause there is no cause to doubt, the former only is ambiguous, it not being clear,

[a] Stromat. l. i. c. 1.

[b] Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 11.

whether the latter sentence be necessarily connected and joined to the former, or that he designed any more than to intimate the last master he addressed to, as distinct from those he had named before. And this I am the rather inclined to think, because whoever considerately weighs Clemens's period, will find that by his Hebrew or Palestine master he means one of the two whom he heard in the East, whereas Pantænus was his master in Egypt, whom he both found and heard there. Others make him born in Sicily,[c] because Clemens, in the following words, styles him "a truly Sicilian bee:" but whether there may not be something proverbial in that expression, even as it relates to Sicily, I shall not now inquire. However it is certain that the inhabitants of that island were generally Greeks, that many eminent philosophers were born, or resided there, and particularly the famous Porphyry, who had retired hither for some years, and here wrote his virulent books against the Christians. Let this then stand for his country, till something more probable offer itself, unless we will say, that being descended of Sicilian ancestors, he was born at Alexandria, the place of his education.

II. His younger years were seasoned with all learned and philosophical studies, under the best masters which Alexandria (for there I presume to place his education) afforded, at that time a noted staple place of learning. As Egypt had in all ages been famous for the choicest parts of literature, and the more uncommon speculations of theology, so more especially Alexandria, where there were professors in all arts and sciences, and public schools of institution, not a little advantaged by that noble library, placed here by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and so much celebrated by the ancients. In after-times here was a fixed and settled succession of philosophers in the Platonic school, begun by Ammonius Saccas, and carried on by Photinus and Origen, and their successors for several ages. Ammianus Marcellinus tells us,[d] that in his time, though not so famous as formerly, yet in some good degree it still maintained its reputation, and that all ingenuous arts and methods of recondite learning, and celebrated professors of all sorts flourished here, and that it was enough to recommend a physician to public notice, if he had studied at Alexandria. Nay, many ages after

[c] Vales. Annot. in Euseb. p. 96.

[d] Lib. xxii. c. 16. non longe a fin.

him, Benjamin the Jew,[e] at his being there, found near twenty several schools of Aristotelians, (the only men that then ruled the chair,) whither men flocked from all parts of the world to learn the Peripatetic philosophy.

III. Among all the sects of philosophy he principally applied himself to the Stoics,[f] with whose notions and rules of life he was most enamoured; and no wonder, seeing (as St. Hierom observes[g]) their dogmata in many things come nearest to the doctrines of Christianity: as indeed they do, especially as to the moral and practic part of their principles. They held that nothing was good but what was just and pious, nothing evil but what was vicious and dishonest; that a bad man could never be happy, nor a good man miserable, who was always free, generous, and dear to heaven; that the Deity was perpetually concerned for human affairs, and that there was a wise and powerful Providence that particularly superintended the happiness of mankind, and was ready to assist men in all lawful and virtuous undertakings; that therefore this God was above all things to be admired, adored, and worshipped, prayed to, acknowledged, obeyed, praised, and that it is the most comely and reasonable thing in the world, that we should universally submit to his will, and *ἀσπάσασθαι ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ συμβαίνοντα πάντα*, cheerfully embrace with all our souls all the issues and determinations of his providence; that we ought not to think it enough to be happy alone, but that it is our duty *ἀπὸ καρδίας φιλεῖν*, to love men from the very heart, to relieve and help them, advise and assist them, and contribute what is in our power to their welfare and safety, and this not once or twice, but throughout the whole life, and that unbiassedly, without any little designs of applause, or advantage to ourselves; that nothing should be equally dear to a man as honesty and virtue; and that this is the first thing he should look at, whether the thing he is going about be good or bad, and the part of a good or a wicked man; and if excellent and virtuous, that he ought not to let any loss or damage, torment, or death itself, deter him from it. And whoever runs over the writings of Seneca, Antoninus, Epictetus, Arrian, &c. will find these, and a great many more, claiming a very near kindred with the main rules of life prescribed in the

[e] Itiner. p. 106. ed. 1575.

[f] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 10.

[g] Com. in Esai. c. xi. vol. iii. p. 101.

Christian faith. And what wonder if Pantænus was in love with such generous and manly principles, which he liked so well, that as he always retained the title of the Stoic Philosopher, so for the main he owned the profession of that sect, even after his being admitted to eminent offices and employments in the Christian church.

IV. By whom he was instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, I find not; Photius tells us,[h] that he was scholar to those who had seen the apostles; though I cannot allow of what he adds, that he had been an auditor of some of the apostles themselves, his great distance from their times rendering it next door to impossible. But whoever were his tutors, he made such vast proficiencies in his learning, that his singular eminency quickly recommended him to a place of great trust and honour in the church, to be master of the catechetic school at Alexandria. For there were not only academies and schools of human literature, but an ecclesiastical school for the training persons up in divine knowledge and the first principles of Christianity: and this ἐξ ἀρχαίου ἔθους, says Eusebius,[i] "of very ancient custom," from the very times of St. Mark, (says St. Hierom,[k]) the first planter of Christianity and bishop of that place: from whose time there had been a constant succession of catechists in that school, which, Eusebius tells us, continued in his time, and was managed by men famous for eloquence and the study of divine things. The fame and glory of Pantænus did, above all others at that time, design him for this place, in which he accordingly succeeded, and that (as Eusebius intimates[l]) about the beginning of Commodus's reign, when Julian entered upon the see of Alexandria, for about that time (says he) he became governor of the school of the faithful there. And whereas others before him had discharged the place in a more private way, he made the school more open and public, freely teaching all that addressed themselves to him. In this employment he continued without intermission the whole time of Julian, (who sat ten years,) till under his successor he was despatched upon a long and dangerous journey, whereof this the occasion.

V. Alexandria was πολυανθρωποτάτη πασῶν πόλις, (as the orator styles it,[m]) one of the most populous and frequented cities

[h] Cod. CXVIII. [i] Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 10. [k] De Script. in Pantæn.
[l] Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 9, 10. [m] Dion. Chrysost. Orat. xxxii. p. 375. vid. p. 373.

in the world, whither there was a constant resort, not only of neighbour nations, but of the most remote and distant countries; Æthiopians, Arabians, Bactrians, Scythians, Persians, and even Indians themselves. It happened that some Indian ambassadors (whether sent for this particular purpose is not certain) entreated Demetrius,[n] then bishop of Alexandria, to send some worthy and excellent person along with them to preach the faith in those countries. None appeared qualified for this errand like Pantænus, a grave man, and a great philosopher, incomparably furnished both with divine and secular learning. Him Demetrius persuades to undertake the embassy; and though he could not but be sufficiently apprehensive, that he quitted a pleasant and delightful country, a place where he was beloved and honoured by all with a just esteem and reverence, and that he ventured upon a journey where he must expect to encounter with dangers and hardships, and the greatest difficulties and oppositions, yet were all these easily conquered by his insatiable desire to propagate the Christian religion, even to the remotest corners of the world. For there were many evangelical preachers even at that time, (as Eusebius adds upon this occasion,[o]) who, inflamed with a divine and holy zeal, in imitation of the apostles, were willing to travel up and down the world for enlarging the bounds of Christianity, and building men up on the most holy faith. What India this was to which Pantænus, and after him Frumentius, (for that they both went to the same country, is highly probable,) was despatched, is not easy to determine. There are, and they men of no inconsiderable note, that conceive it was not the Oriental, but African India, conterminous to Æthiopia, or rather a part of it. These Indians were a colony and plantation derived at first out of the East. For so Eusebius tells us,[p] that in the more early ages the Æthiopians, quitting the parts about the river Indus, sat down near Egypt. Whence Philostratus expressly styles the Æthiopians a colony of Indians,[q] as elsewhere he calls them γένος Ἰνδικὸν,[r] an Indian generation. The metropolis of this country was Axumis, of which Frumentius is afterwards said to be ordained bishop by Athanasius: an opinion which I confess myself very inclinable to embrace, and should without any

[n] Hieron. de Script. in Pantæn.
[o] Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 10.
[p] Chron. ad An. Abrah. 404.
[q] Vit. Apollon. l. vi. c. 8.
[r] Ibid. l. iii. c. 6.

scruple comply with, did not Eusebius expressly say,[s] that Pantænus preached the gospel to the Eastern nations, and came as far as to India itself: a passage, which how it can suit with the African India, and the countries that lie so directly south of Egypt, I am not able to imagine. For which reason we have elsewhere fixed it in the East. Nor is there any need to send them as far as India *intra Gangem*; there are places in Asia nearer hand, and particularly some parts of Arabia, that anciently passed under that name, whence the Persian Gulf is sometimes called the Indian Sea. But let the judicious reader determine as he please in this matter.

VI. Being arrived in India, he set himself to plant the Christian faith in those parts, especially conversing with the Brachmans,[t] the sages and philosophers of those countries, whose principles and way of life seemed more immediately to dispose them for the entertainment of Christianity.[u] Their children as soon as born they committed to nurses; and then to guardians, according to their different ages, who instructed them in principles according to their capacities and improvements: they were educated with all imaginable severity of discipline, not suffered so much as to speak, or spit, or cough, while their masters were discoursing to them, and this till they were seven and thirty years of age. They were infinitely strict and abstemious in their diet, eat no flesh, drunk no wine or strong drink; feeding only upon wild acorns, and such roots as nature furnished them withal, and quenching their thirst at the next spring or river; and as sparing of all other lawful pleasures and delights. They adored no images, but sincerely worshipped God, to whom they continually prayed: and instead of the custom of those Eastern nations of turning to the east, they devoutly lift up their eyes to heaven; and while they drew near to God, took a peculiar care to keep themselves from being defiled with any vice or wickedness, spending a great part both of night and day in

[s] Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 10.

[t] Hieron. Epist. lxxxiii. ad Magn. Orat. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 656.

[u] De Brachman. Morib. et instit. vid. inter alios Alexand. Polyb. de Reb. Indic. ap. Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. iii. c. 7. Strab. Geogr. l. xv. p. 1038. Bardesan. Syr. l. de fat. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. vi. c. 10. Plutarch. de vit. Alexand. p. 701. Porphyr. Περ. ἀποχῆς, l. iv. s. 17, 18. Pallad. de Bragman. p. 8, 9, 15, 16, 17. Tract. de Orig. et Morib. Brachman. inter Ambrosii oper. ad Calc. vol. v. ed. 1585. Suid. in voc. Βραχμᾶνες.

hymns and prayers to God. They accounted themselves the most free and victorious people, having hardened their bodies against all external accidents, and subdued in their minds all irregular passions and desires. Gold and silver they despised, as that which could neither quench their thirst nor allay their hunger, nor heal their wounds, nor cure their distempers, nor serve any real and necessary ends of nature; but only minister to vice and luxury, to trouble and inquietude, and set the mind upon racks and tenters. They looked upon none of the little accidents of this world to be either good or evil; frequently discoursed concerning death, which they maintained to be γένεσιν εἰς τὸν ὄντως βίον, a being born into a real and happy life; and in order whereunto they made use of the present time only as a state of preparation for a better life. In short, they seemed in most things to conspire and agree with the Stoics, whom therefore of all other sects they esteemed to be λογίους φιλοσόφους,[x] the most excellent philosophers: and upon that account could not but be somewhat the more acceptable to Pantænus, who had so thoroughly imbibed all the wise and rational principles of that institution.

VII. What success he had in these parts, we are not particularly told. Certainly his preaching could not want some considerable effect, especially where persons were, by the rules of their order and the course of their life, so well qualified to receive it; and that too where Christianity had been heretofore planted, though now overgrown with weeds and rubbish for want of due care and culture. For he met with several[y] that retained the knowledge of Christ, preached here long since by St. Bartholomew the apostle, (as we have elsewhere shewed in his Life;) whereof not the least evidence was his finding St. Matthew's Gospel written in Hebrew, which St. Bartholomew had left at his being there, and which Pantænus (as St. Hierom informs us, though I question whether it be any more than his own conjecture) brought back with him to Alexandria, and there no doubt laid it up as an inestimable treasure. And as our philosopher succeeded in the labours of St. Bartholomew in these Indian plantations, so another afterwards succeeded in his; an account whereof, to make the story more entire, the reader, I

[x] Pallad. de Brachman. p. 52.

[y] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 10. Hier. de Script. in Pantæn.

presume, will not think it impertinent, if I here insert. Ædesius and Frumentius,[s] two youths of Tyre, accompanied Meropius the philosopher into India; where being taken by the natives, they were presented to the king of the country, who, pleased with their persons and their parts, made one of them his butler, the other (Frumentius) the keeper of his records, or, as Sozomen will have it, his treasurer and *major-domo*, committing to his care the government of his house. For their great diligence and fidelity, the king at his death gave them their liberty; who thereupon determined to return to their own country, but were prevailed with by the queen to stay, and superintend affairs during the minority of her son: which they did, the main of the government being in the hands of Frumentius; who, assisted by some Christian merchants that trafficked there, built an oratory, where they assembled to worship God according to the rites of Christianity, and instructed several of the natives, who joined themselves to their assembly. The young king now of age, Frumentius resigned his trust, and begged leave to return; which being with some difficulty obtained, they presently departed: Ædesius going for Tyre, while Frumentius went to Alexandria; where he gave Athanasius, then bishop of that place, an account of the whole affair, shewing him what hopes there were that the Indians would come over to the faith of Christ; withal begging of him to send a bishop and some clergymen among them, and not to neglect so fair an opportunity of advancing their salvation. Athanasius having advised with his clergy, persuaded Frumentius to accept the office, assuring him he had none fitter for it than himself: which was done accordingly, and Frumentius being made bishop, returned back into India, where he preached the Christian faith, erected many churches, and being assisted by the divine grace wrought innumerable miracles, healing both the souls and bodies of many at the same time: an account of all which Rufinus professes to have received from Ædesius's own mouth, then presbyter of the church of Tyre. But it is time to look back to Pantænus.

VIII. Being returned to Alexandria, he resumed his catechetic office: which I gather partly from Eusebius,[a] who again mentions

[s] Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 19. Sozom. l. ii. c. 24. Theodor. Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 23.
[a] Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 10.

it just after his Indian expedition; and adds τελευτῶν ἡγεῖται, that after all, or when he drew near to his latter end, he governed the school of Alexandria: partly from St. Hierom,[b] who says expressly, that he taught in the reigns of Severus and Caracalla, his first regency being under Commodus. He died in the time of Antoninus Caracalla, who began his reign anno 211, though the exact date and manner of his death be lost; his memory is preserved in the Roman calendar on the seventh of July. And certainly a just tribute of honour is due to his memory for his admirable zeal and piety, his indefatigable pains and industry, his exquisite abilities, τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας ἀνὴρ ἐπιδοξότατος, as Eusebius truly characters him, a man singularly eminent in all kinds of learning; and Origen,[c] who lived nearer to him, and was one of his successors, commends him for his great usefulness and ability both in philosophical speculations and theological studies; in the one able to deal with philosophers, in the other to refute heretics and seducers. In his school he displayed (as Eusebius tells us) both by word and writing the treasures of the sacred doctrines; though he taught (says St. Hierom) rather *viva voce* than by books; who mentions only his commentaries upon the holy scripture, and of them not the least fragment is remaining at this day.

[b] De Script. in Pantæn.

[c] Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 19.

THE LIFE OF SAINT CLEMENS

OF ALEXANDRIA.

His country. The progress of his studies. His instruction in the Christian doctrine. His several masters. His impartial inquiry after truth. The elective sect, what. Its excellent genius. Clemens of this sect. His succeeding Pantænus in the catechetic school. He is made presbyter of Alexandria. His Stromata published, when. Lawfulness of flying in time of persecution. His journey into the East. What tracts he wrote there. His going from Jerusalem to Antioch, and return to Alexandria. His death. The elogia given of him by the ancients. His admirable learning. His writings. His Hypotyposes: Photius's account of them; corrupted by the Arians. His books yet extant, and the orderly gradation of them. His Stromata, what the design of it. His style, what in this, what in his other books. A short apology for some unwary assertions in his writings. His writings enumerated.

Titus Flavius Clemens was, probably, born at Athens. For when Epiphanius tells us,[a] that some affirmed him to be an Alexandrian, others an Athenian, he might well be both; the one being the place of his nativity, as the other was of his constant residence and employment. Nor can I imagine any other account upon which the title of Athenian should be given to him. And the conjecture is further countenanced from the course and progress of his studies; the foundations whereof were laid in Greece, improved in the East, and perfected in Egypt. And indeed his incomparable abilities in all parts of science render it a little more probable, that his early years commenced in that great school of arts and learning. But he stayed not here; his insatiable thirst after knowledge made him traverse almost all parts of the world, and converse with the learned of all nations, that he might furnish himself with the knowledge of whatever was useful and excellent, especially a thorough acquaintance with the mysteries of the Christian doctrine. He tells us of those lively and powerful discourses,[b] which he had

[a] Hæres. xxxii. c. 6. [b] Stromat. l. i. c. 1. et ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 11.

the happiness to hear from blessed and truly worthy and memorable persons, who preserving that sincere and excellent doctrine, which, like children from the hands of their parents, they had immediately received from Peter, James, John, and Paul, the holy apostles, were by God's blessing come down to his time, sowing those ancient and apostolic seeds of truth: a passage which I doubt not Eusebius[c] intended, when he says, that Clemens, speaking concerning himself in the first book of his Stromata, affirms himself to have been of the next succession to the apostles.

II. Of these venerable men to whose tuition he committed himself, he himself has given us some,[d] though but obscure account. The first was Ionicus, a Cœlo-Syrian, whom he heard in Greece, and whom Baronius conjectures to have been Caius,[e] or Dionysius bishop of Corinth; a second an Egyptian, under whose discipline he was, in that part of Italy called Magna Græcia, and since Calabria. Hence he travelled into the East, where the first of his masters was an Assyrian, supposed by some to have been Bardesanes, by others Tatian, the scholar of Justin Martyr: the next originally a Jew, of a very ancient stock, whom he heard in Palestine; whom Baronius will have to have been Theophilus bishop of Cæsarea, (though for his Hebrew descent there be no evidence among the ancients;) others more probably Theodotus,[f] whence the *excerpta* out of his Hypotyposes still extant are styled ἐκ τῶν Θεοδότου ἀνατολικῆς διδασκαλίας, "the Epitome of Theodotus's Oriental doctrine," that is, the doctrine which he learnt from Theodotus in the East. The last of the masters whom he met with, δυνάμει δὲ ἄρα πρῶτος, as he says of him, but the first and chief in power and virtue, was one whom he inquisitively sought out, and found in Egypt, and in whose institution he fully acquiesced, and sought no further. This person is generally supposed to have been Pantænus, whom Clemens elsewhere expressly affirms to have been his master,[g] and whom in the forementioned epitome he styles our Pantænus.[h]

III. But though he put himself under the discipline of so many several masters, yet was it not out of any vain desultory lightness, or fantastic curiosity, but to make researches after truth

[c] Ibid. l. vi. c. 13. [d] Loc. citat. [e] Ad Ann. 185. n. 4.
[f] Vales. Annot. in Euseb. p. 95. [g] In lib. Hypot. ap. Euseb. l. v. c. 11.
[h] In Scriptt. Prophet. eclog. a. 56.

with an honest and inquisitive mind. He loved what was manly and generous, wherever he met it: and therefore tells us,[i] he did not simply approve all philosophy, but that of which Socrates in Plato speaks concerning their mysterious rites,

.....ναρθηκοφόροι μὲν πολλοί· βάκχοι δέ τε παῦροι;

intimating, as he expresses it in the style of the scripture, that "many are called, but few elect," or who make the right choice. And such (adds Socrates) and such only, in my opinion, are those who embrace the true philosophy. Of which sort (says Clemens) through my whole life I have to my power approved myself, desiring and endeavouring by all means to become one of that number. For this purpose he never tied himself to any particular institution of philosophy, but took up in the αἵρεσις ἐκλεκτικὴ, the "elective sect," who obliged not themselves to the dictates and sentiments of any one philosopher, but freely made choice of the most excellent principles out of all. This sect (as the philosophic historian informs us[k]) was begun by Potamon, an Alexandrian too, who out of every sect of philosophy selected what he judged best. He gave himself liberty impartially to inquire into the natures of things, and what was the true standard and measure of truth; he considered, that no man knows every thing; that some things are obvious to one that are overseen or neglected by another; that there are wholesome herbs and flowers in every field; and that if the thing be well said, it is no matter who it is that says it; that reason is to be submitted to before authority; and though a fair regard be due to the opinions and principles of our friends, yet that it is ὅσιον προτιμᾶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, (as Aristotle himself confesses,[l]) more pious and reasonable to honour and esteem the truth. And thus he picked up a system of noble principles, like so many flowers out of several gardens, professing this to be the great end of all his disquisitions,[m] ζωὴν κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν τελείαν, a life perfected according to all the rules of virtue. Of this incomparable order was our divine philosopher: "I espoused not (says he[n]) this or that philosophy; not the Stoic, nor the Platonic, nor the Epicurean, or that of Aristotle; but whatever any of these sects had said, that was fit and just, that

[i] Stromat. l. i. c. 19.
[k] Diog. Laert. procem. ad vit. Philos. s. 21.
[l] Ethic. l. i. c. 4.
[m] Diog. Laert. loc. citat.
[n] Stromat. l. i. s. 7.

taught righteousness with a divine and religious knowledge, τοῦτο σύμπαν τὸ ἐκλεκτικὸν, all that being selected, I call philosophy." Though it cannot be denied, but that of any sect he came nearest to the Stoics, as appears from his discoursing by way of paradoxes, and his affected novelty of words, two things peculiar to the men of that way, as a very learned and ingenious person has observed.[o] And I doubt not but he was more peculiarly disposed towards this sect by the instructions of his master Pantænus, so great and professed an admirer of the Stoical philosophy.

IV. Pantænus being dead, he succeeded him in the *schola* Κατηχήσεων, the catechetic school at Alexandria, though questionless he taught in it long before that, and probably during Pantænus's absence in India, supplying his place till his return, and succeeding in it after his death; for that he was Pantænus's successor, the ancients are all agreed.[p] Here he taught with great industry and fidelity, and with no less success, some of the most eminent men of those times; Origen, Alexander bishop of Hierusalem, and others being bred under him. And now (as himself confesses[q]) he found his philosophy and Gentile-learning very useful to him: for as the husbandman first waters the soil and then casts in the seed, so the notions he derived out of the writings of the Gentiles, served first to water and soften τὸ γεῶδες αὐτῶν, the gross and terrestrial parts of the soul, that the spiritual seed might be the better cast in, and take vital root in the minds of men. Besides the office of a catechist, he was made presbyter of the church of Alexandria, and that at least about the beginning of Severus's reign, for under that capacity Eusebius takes notice of him, anno 195: about which time, prompted by his own zeal, and obliged by the iniquity of the times, he set himself to vindicate the cause of Christianity both against heathens and heretics; which he has done at large, with singular learning and dexterity, in his book called Stromata, published about this time; for drawing down a chronological account of things,[r] he ends his computation in the death of the emperor Commodus. Whence it is evident, as Eusebius

[o] H. Dodwell Prolegom. Apol. ad lib. D. Stearn de Obstin. p. 115.
[p] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 6. Hieron. de Script. in Clement. Phot. Cod. CXVIII.
[q] Stromat. l. i. c. 1. [r] Ibid. l. i. c. 21.

observes,[s] that he compiled that volume in the reign of Severus that succeeded him.

V. The persecution under Severus raged in all provinces of the empire, and particularly at Alexandria, which made many of the Christians for the present willing to retire, and Clemens probably among the rest, whom we therefore find particularly discoursing the lawfulness of withdrawing in a time of persecution:[t] that though we may not cowardly decline a danger or death, when it is necessary for the sake of religion, yet in other cases we are to follow the direction of our Saviour, "when they persecute you in one city, flee ye into another;"[u] and not to obey in such a case, is to be bold and rash, and unwarrantably to precipitate ourselves into danger; that if it be a great sin against God to destroy a man, who is his image, that man makes himself guilty of the crime, who offers himself to the public tribunal; and little better does he, that, when he may, declines not the persecution, but rashly exposes himself to be apprehended, thereby to his power conspiring with the wickedness of his persecutors. And if further he irritate and provoke them, he is unquestionably the cause of his own ruin; like a man that needlessly rouses and enrages a wild beast to fall upon him. And this opportunity I doubt not he took to visit the Eastern parts, where he had studied in his younger days. We find him about this time at Jerusalem with Alexander, shortly after bishop of that place, between whom there seems to have been a peculiar intimacy, insomuch that St. Clemens dedicated his book to him,[x] called the Ecclesiastical Canon, ἡ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαΐζοντας, or "against them that Judaize." During his stay here, he preached constantly, and declined no pains, even in that evil time; and with what success, we may see by a piece of a letter written by Alexander, then in prison, and sent by our St. Clemens to Antioch, which we here insert: "Alexander, a servant of God, and a prisoner of Jesus Christ, to the blessed church at Antioch, in the Lord greeting. Our Lord has made my bonds in this time of my imprisonment light and easy to me, while I understood that Asclepiades, a person admirably qualified by his eminency in the faith, was by the divine providence become bishop of your holy church of Antioch." Concluding, "These letters, worthy

[s] Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 6. [t] Stromat. l. iv. c. 10. [u] Matt. x. 23.
[x] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 14. Hieron. de Script. in Clement.

brethren, I have sent you by Clemens, the blessed presbyter, a man virtuous and approved, whom ye both do, and shall yet further know: who, having been here with us, according to the good will and providence of God, has greatly established and increased the church of Christ."[x] By which epistle we may by the way remark the error of Eusebius,[y] who places Asclepiades's coming to the see of Antioch in the first year of Caracalla, anno 212, whereas we see it was while Alexander was yet in prison under Severus, which he himself makes to be anno 205. From Jerusalem then Clemens went to Antioch, where we cannot question but he took the same pains, and laboured with the same zeal and industry. After which he returned to Alexandria, and the discharge of his office, where how long he continued, or by what death he died, antiquity is silent. Certain it is, that for some considerable time he outlived Pantænus, who died in the time of Caracalla; and when he wrote his Stromata, he tells us that he did it that he might lay up things in store against old age: a plain intimation that he was then pretty far from it. I add no more but what Alexander of Hierusalem says,[z] in a letter to Origen, where having told him, that their friendship which had commenced under their predecessors should continue sacred and inviolable, yea, grow more firm and fervent, he adds, "For we acknowledge for our fathers those blessed saints who are gone before us, and to whom we shall go after a little time: Pantænus, I mean, the truly happy, and my master; and the holy Clemens, my master, and one that was greatly useful and helpful to me."

VI. To commend this excellent man after the great things spoken of him by the ancients, were to hold a candle to the sun. Let us hear the character which some of them give of him. "The holy and the blessed Clemens, a very virtuous and approved," as we have seen Alexander bishop of Jerusalem, who knew him best, testifying of him. Indeed his zeal and piety, modesty and humility, could not but endear him unto all. For his learning he was, in St. Hierom's judgment,[a] the most learned of all the ancients. "A man admirably learned and skilful, and that searched to the very bottom of all the learning of the

[x] Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 10.
[y] In Chron. ad Ann. 212.
[z] Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 14.
[a] Epist. lxxxiii. ad Magn. Orat. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 656.

Greeks with that exactness that perhaps few before him ever attained to," says St. Cyril of Alexandria.[b] "An holy man, (says Theodoret,[c]) *καὶ πολυπειρίᾳ ἅπαντας ἀπολιπὼν*, and one that, for his vast and diffusive learning, incomparably surpassed all other men." Nor was he less accurate in matters of theology than human learning; an incomparable master in the Christian philosophy, as Eusebius styles him. Witness his many books, crowded, as Eusebius tells us,[d] with variety and plenty of useful knowledge, derived (as St. Hierom adds[e]) both from the holy scriptures and secular learning, wherein there is nothing unlearned, nothing that is not fetched out of the very centre and bowels of philosophy. The titles of them, those two authors have preserved, the far greatest part of the books themselves having perished: among which the most memorable was the Hypotyposes, or books of institution, so often cited by Eusebius, which contained short and strict explications of many passages of holy scriptures: wherein, Photius tells us,[f] there were many wild and impious opinions; as, that matter was eternal, and that ideas were introduced by certain decrees; that there is a transmigration of souls, and were many worlds before Adam; that the Son is among the number of created beings, and that the Word was not really made flesh, but only appeared so; and many more *βλάσφημοι τερατολογίαι*, monstrous blasphemies: but withal insinuates, that probably these things were inserted by another hand, as Rufinus expressly assures us,[g] that heretics had corrupted Clemens's writings. Certainly had these books been infected with these profane and poisonous dogmata in Eusebius's time, we can hardly think but that he would have given us at least some obscure intimations of it. And considerable it is what Photius observes, that these things are not countenanced by his other books, nay many of them plainly contradicted by them.

VII. The books yet extant, (besides the little tract, entitled *Τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος*,) are chiefly three; which seem to have been written in a very wise and excellent order: the *Λόγος Προτρεπτικὸς*, or "Exhortation to the Gentiles;" the "Pæda-

[b] Contr. Julian. l. vii. vol. vii. p. 231. vid. l. vi. p. 205. [c] Hæret. Fabul. l. i. c. 6.
[d] Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 13.
[e] De Script. in Clement. et Epist. ad Magn. Orat. loc. citat.
[f] Cod. CIX. [g] Apol. pro Orig. inter Opp. Hier. vol. v. p. 250.

gogus," or Christian Instructor; and the "Stromata," or various discourses: in the first he very rationally refutes the follies and impieties of the Gentile religion, and strongly persuades men to embrace Christianity; in the second he tutors and instructs new converts, and by the most admirable rules, and pathetical insinuations, prepares and forms them to an holy and truly Christian life; in the third he administers "strong meat to them that are of a more full age;" a clearer explication of the Christian doctrine, and a more particular confutation both of Gentile and heretical opinions, admitting the disciple, after his first purgation and initiation, into a more immediate acquaintance with the sacred mysteries of religion. His Stromata[h] are nothing but miscellaneous discourses composed out of the holy writings, and the books of the Gentiles, explaining and (as occasion is) confuting the opinions of the Greeks and Barbarians, the sentiments of philosophers, the notions of heretics; inserting variety of stories, and treasures out of all sorts of learning; which, as himself tells us,[i] he therefore styled Stromata, that is, a "variegated contexture of discourses," and which he compares not to a curious garden,[k] wherein the trees and plants are disposed according to the exactest rules of method and order, but to a thick shady mountain, whereon trees of all sorts, the cypress and the plantain, the laurel and the ivy, the apple, the olive, and the fig-tree, promiscuously grow together. In the two former of his books (as Photius observes[l]) his style is florid, but set off with a well-proportioned gravity, and a becoming variety of learning: in the latter he neither designed the ornaments of eloquence, nor would the nature of his design well admit it, as he truly apologizes for himself;[m] his main care was so to express things that he might be understood,[n] and further eloquence than this he neither studied nor desired. If in these books of his there be what Photius affirms,[o] some few things here and there, οὐχ ὑγιῶς, not soundly or warily expressed; yet not, as he adds, like those of the Hypotyposes, but capable of a candid and benign interpretation; not considerably prejudicial either to the doctrine and practice of religion, and such as are generally to be met with in the writers of those early ages. And it is no wonder, if the

[h] Vid. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 13.
[i] Stromat. l. i. c. 1. l. iv. c. 2.
[k] Lib. vii. c. 18.
[l] Cod. CIX.
[m] Stromat. l. vii. c. 18.
[n] Ibid. l. i. c. 10.
[o] Cod. CIX.

good and pious men of those times, who were continually engaged in fierce disputes with Heathens on the one side, and Jews and heretics on the other, did not always ὀρθοτομεῖν, "divide the truth aright," in some nicer lines and strokes of it. The best is, their great piety and serviceableness in their generations, while they lived, and the singular usefulness of their writings to posterity since they are dead, are abundantly enough to weigh down any little failures or mistakes that dropped from them.

His Writings.

Extant.

Protrepticon ad Gentes.
Pædagogi, Libri tres.
Stromateων, Libri octo.
Orat. Quisnam dives ille sit, qui salvetur.
Epitome doctrinæ Orientalis Theodoti, &c.

Not Extant.

Hypotyposeων, seu Institutionum, Libri octo.
Canon Ecclesiasticus, seu Adversus Judaizantes.
De Paschate.
De obtrectatione.
Disputationes de jejunio.
Exhortatio ad Patientiam ad Neophytos.

Supposititious.

Commentariola in Prim. Canonicam S. Petri, in Epistolam Judæ, et tres Epistolas S. Joannis Apostoli.

THE LIFE OF TERTULLIAN

PRESBYTER OF CARTHAGE.

His names, whence. His father, who. His education in all kinds of learning. His skill in the Roman Laws. Different from Tertylian the lawyer. His way of life before his conversion, inquired into. His married condition. His conversion to Christianity, when. The great cruelty used towards the Christians. Severus's kindness to them. Tertullian's excellent apology in their behalf. His address to Scapula, and the tendency of that discourse. Severus's violent persecuting the Christians. His prohibition of the *Heteriæ*. Tertullian's book to the Martyrs, and concerning Patience. His zeal against heresies, and writings that way. His book *De Pallio*, when written, and upon what occasion. His becoming presbyter, when. His book *De Corona*, and what the occasion of it. His declining from the Catholic party. Montanus, who and whence. His principles and practices. Tertullian's owning them, and upon what occasion. His morose and stubborn temper. How far he complied with the Montanists, and acknowledged the Paraclete. How he was imposed upon. His writings against the Catholics. The severity of the ancient discipline. *Episcopus Episcoporum*, in what sense meant by Tertullian concerning the bishop of Rome. His separate meetings at Carthage. His death. His character. His singular parts and learning. His books. His phrase and style. What contributed to its perplexedness and obscurity. His unorthodox opinions. A brief plea for him.

QUINTUS Septimius Florens Tertullianus, was (as the ancients affirm,[a] and himself implies when he calls it his country[b]) born at Carthage, the metropolis of Africa, famous above all others for antiquity, sovereignty, and power, insomuch that for some ages it contended for glory and superiority even with Rome itself. He was called Septimius, because descended of the *Gens Septimia*, a tribe of great account among the Romans, being first regal, afterwards plebeian, and last of all consular and patrician. Florens, from some particular family of that house so called, and Quintus (a title common among the Romans) probably because the fifth child which his parents had; and Ter-

[a] Hieron. de script. in Tertul. Niceph. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 34.

[b] De Pall. c. 1. et Apolog. c. 9.

tullian, a derivative from Tertullus, it is like from his immediate parent. His father was a soldier, a centurion under the proconsul of Africa, (called therefore by St. Hierom and others *Centurio Proconsularis*,) not a man of proconsular dignity, as some make him; he was a Gentile, in which religion Tertullian also was brought up, as himself confesses.[c] He was educated in all the accomplishments which the learning either of the Greeks or Romans could add to them; he seems to have left no paths untraced; to have intimately conversed with poets, historians, orators, not to have looked only, but to have entered into the secrets of philosophy and the mathematics; not unseen in physic and the curiosities of nature; and, as Eusebius notes,[d] a man famous for other things, but especially admirably skilled in the Roman laws; though they who would hence infer him to have been a professed lawyer, and the same with him whose Excerpta are yet extant in the Pandects, are guilty of a notorious mistake, the name of that lawyer being Tertylianus; besides that dissonancy that is in their style and language. Or suppose with others that this Tertylian was one of Papinian's scholars in the reign of Alexander Severus, he must by this account be at least thirty years after the other's conversion to Christianity. The original of the error doubtless arose from the nearness and similitude of the names, and the character of his skill in the Roman laws given by Eusebius, which indeed is evident from his works, and especially his Apology for the Christians.

II. What was his particular course of life before he came over to the Christian religion, is uncertain. They that conceive him to have been an advocate, and publicly to have pleaded causes, because after his conversion he says of himself,[e] that he owed nothing to the *forum*, took up no place among the *rostra*, made no noise among the benches, did not toss about the laws, nor clamour out causes, as if he had done all this before, might by the same reason conclude him to have been a soldier, because he adds in the same place, that he owed nothing to the camp, with some other offices there mentioned by him. That he was married is evident, though whether before or after his embracing the Christian faith, I cannot positively determine; probably before. However, according to the severity of his principles, he lived with his wife a great part of his life in a state of continency,

[c] Apol. c. 18. [d] Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 2. [e] De Pall. c. 5.

conversing with her as his sister, exhorting her to perpetual celibacy, and the utmost strictnesses of a single life, as appears by his two books written to her upon that subject.

III. His conversion to Christianity we may conceive to have happened not long after the beginning of Severus's reign, and a little before the conclusion of the second century. Being a man of an inquisitive and sagacious mind, he had observed the powerful and triumphant efficacy of the Christian faith over the minds and lives of men, its great antiquity, the admirable consent and truth of the predictions recorded in the books of the Christians, the frequent testimonies which the heathen deities themselves gave to its truth and divinity, the ordinary confessions of their demons, when forced to abandon the persons they had possessed, at the command of a Christian, all which he shews at large[f] (at least as we may probably guess) to have been the main inducements of his conversion. In the very entrance of the following *seculum*, Severus being gone to make war upon the Parthians, the magistrates at Rome, and proportionably the governors of provinces, began to bear hard upon the Christians, beholding them as infamous persons, and especially traitors to the empire. Among whom the most principal person, I doubt not, was Plautianus, a man in great favour with the emperor, whose daughter was married to Antoninus, the emperor's eldest son, and whom Severus, at his going into the East, had made prefect of Rome; of him we read,[g] that in the emperor's absence he put to death an infinite number both of the nobility and common people: among whom we cannot question but the Christians had theirs, and it is like the far greatest share. And so notorious was the cruelty, that Severus at his return was forced to apologize for himself,[h] that he had no hand in it. And indeed Severus, in the first part of his reign, was (as Tertullian informs us[i]) very benign and favourable to the Christians; for having been cured of a dangerous distemper by one Proculus, a Christian, who anointed him with oil, he kept him at court with him ever after. Nor did his kindness terminate here; for when he knew that several both men and women of the Senatorian order were Christians, he was so far from persecuting them upon that

[f] Vid. Apol. c. 19, 20. c. 23. et alibi passim.

[g] Dio. Cass. Hist. Rom. l. lxxv. et Xiphil. in vit. Sever. p. 328. ed. 1592.

[h] Spartian in vit. Sever. c. 15.

[i] Ad Scapul. c. 4.

account, that he gave them an honourable testimony, and restrained the people, when they were raging against the Christians. This I suppose to have been done at his return from the Parthian expedition, when he found both governors and people engaged in so hot and severe a persecution of the Christians.

IV. The barbarous and cruel usage which the Christians generally met with, engaged Tertullian to vindicate and plead their cause, both against the malice and cruelty of their enemies. For which purpose he published and sent abroad his Apology, dedicating it to the magistrates of the Roman empire, and especially the senate at Rome, (for that he went to Rome himself, and personally presented it to the senate, I confess I see no convincing evidence;) wherein with incomparable learning and eloquence, with all possible evidence and strength of reason, he pleads their cause, complains of the iniquity and injustice of their enemies, and the methods of their proceedings; particularly demonstrates the vanity and falsehood of those crimes that were commonly charged upon the Christians, arguing their meekness and innocency, their temperance and sobriety, their piety to God, and obedience to their prince, the reasonableness of their principles, and the holiness of their lives, beyond all just exception: an Apology which undoubtedly contributed towards the cooling and qualifying of the present calentures, especially at Severus's return. And, indeed, it appears not by the whole series of that discourse, that the emperor had given any particular countenance to those severities; nay, on the contrary, he expressly styles him the "most constant prince."[k] Not long after this, Tertullian found work nearer home; Scapula, the president and proconsul of Africa, (the same probably with Scapula Tertyllus, a provincial president, to whom there is a rescript of Marcus and Commodus,[l]) treating the Christians much at the same rate that Plautianus had done at Rome. To him, therefore, he addresses himself in a neat and pathetical discourse; representing the honesty and simplicity of Christians, and their hearty prayers and endeavours for the prosperity of the empire, and those particular instances of severity which the Divine Providence had lately inflicted upon it, which could not be reasonably supposed to have been sent upon any other errand, so much as to revenge

[k] Apol. c. 4.

[l] L. 14. ff. de Offic. Præsid. lib. i. Tit. 18.

the innocent blood that had been shed; laying before him the clemency and indulgence of former princes and presidents, yea, and of the present emperor himself, so great a friend to Christians: a plain evidence that this book was written at this time, before Severus broke out into open violence against them.

V. The Christians now enjoyed a little respite: but, alas! it was but like the intermitting fits of a fever, which being over, the paroxysm returns with a fiercer violence; Ann. Chr. 202, Severi 10, the persecution revived,[m] and was now carried on by command of the emperor. For Severus, in his journey through Palestine, forbad any, under the heaviest penalties, to become Jews;[n] and the same orders he issued out concerning Christians. The general pretence, it is like, was the prohibiting *hetericæ*, or unlawful societies, (which we have elsewhere described,) for such a rescript Ulpian mentions,[o] whereby Severus forbad the "illegal colleges," commanding the persons frequenting them to be accused before the prefect of the city, in which number they usually beheld the Christians; though I doubt not but there were (as Spartianus plainly affirms) particular edicts issued out against them. The people, who could hardly be held in before, having now the reins thrown upon their necks, and spurred on by the imperial orders, ran apace upon the execution, so that the churches in all places were filled with martyrdoms and the blood of the saints;[p] and it grew so hot, that Jude,[q] a writer of those times, drawing down his chronology of Daniel's seventy weeks, to this year, broke off his computation, supposing that the so much celebrated coming of Antichrist was now at hand: so exceedingly (says the historian) were the minds of many shaken and disturbed with the present persecution. Tertullian, that he might speak a word in season, took hold of the present opportunity, and wrote to the martyrs in prison, to comfort them under their sufferings, and exhort them to constancy and final perseverance; as also for the same reason, and about the same time, he published his Discourse concerning Patience, wherein he very elegantly describes the advantages and commendations of that virtue, and especially urges it from the example of God, our blessed Saviour, and speaks therein more favourably than he

[m] Euseb. Chron. ad eundem An.
[n] Æl. Spartian. in vit. Sever. c. 17.
[o] L. i. ff. de Offic. Præfect. urb. §. 14. Tit. 12. lib. i.
[p] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 1.
[q] Ibid. c. 6.

did afterwards of retiring in a time of persecution. Nor was he less watchful to defend and preserve the church from error and heresy, writing his "Prescription against Heretics," (for that it was written about this time is evident from several passages, especially where he mentions the time of persecution, the place of the tribunal, the person of the judge, the bringing forth of lions, and the like,) wherein he enumerates and insists upon the several heresies which had infested the church till that time; censuring and confuting their absurd opinions, and promising a more distinct and particular confutation of them afterwards:[r] which accordingly he performed in his discourses against the Jews, against Hermogenes, the Valentinians, Marcion, Praxeas, and some others of their proselytes and disciples, and some of the Montanists themselves, writing a particular tract concerning Baptism, and the use of water in it, and its necessity to salvation, against Quintilla, a woman of great note and eminency among the followers of Montanus, what value soever he afterwards seemed to put upon that sect.

VI. About the fifteenth of Severus, Ann. Chr. 207, he published his book *De Pallio* upon this occasion. He had lately left off the gown, the garment ordinarily worn in all parts of the Roman empire, and had put on the cloak, the usual habit of philosophers, and of all those Christians that entered upon a severer state of life, as we have shewn in the Life of Justin Martyr. Hereupon he was derided by them of Carthage for his lightness and vanity, in so wantonly skipping *à Toga ad Pallium*, from the gown to the cloak, satirically taxing his inconstancy in turning from one course of life to another. To vindicate himself he writes this discourse, wherein he puts forth the keenness of a sarcastic wit, and spreads all the sails of his African eloquence, retorts the case upon his accusers, shews the antiquity, simplicity, easiness, and gravity of this habit, and smartly upbraids that luxury and prodigality that had overrun all orders and ranks of men And that this was done about this time, and not at his first taking upon him the profession of Christianity, is judiciously observed and urged by Baronius,[s] and more fully proved by the learned Salmasius, in his notes upon that book. Indeed the circumstances mentioned by Tertullian[t]

[r] De Præscript. Hæret. c. 45.
[s] Ad Ann. 197. n. 3. et seq.
[t] De Pall. c. 2.

do not well suit with any other time, as the *præsentis imperii triplex virtus*, which cannot reasonably be meant of any, but Severus and his two sons, Antoninus and Geta, whence in several ancient inscriptions they are put together under the title of AUGUSTI, and emperors; the present happiness, security, enlargement, and tranquillity of the Roman state, which these three powers of the empire had made like a well-cultivated field, *eradicato omni aconito hostilitatis*, every poisonous weed of hostility and sedition being rooted up, with a great deal more to the same purpose: which evidently refers both to his conquest of Pescennius Niger, who usurped the empire, and whom he overthrew and killed at Cyzicum in the East, and to his last year's victory (as Eusebius[u] places it) over Clodius Albinus and his party, whom he subdued and slew at Lyons in France, for attempting to make himself emperor; as afterwards he came into Britain, (*maximum ejus imperii decus*, as the historian styles it,[x] "the greatest honour and ornament of his empire,") where he conquered the natives, and secured his conquests by the famous Pict's wall which he built: by which means he rendered the state of the Roman empire pacate and quiet. At the same time we may suppose it was that Tertullian was made presbyter of Carthage, and that that was the particular occasion of altering his habit, and assuming the philosophic pallium; the clergy of those times being generally those who took upon them an ascetic course of life, and for which reason doubtless the cloak is called by Tertullian in his dialect,[y] *sacerdos suggestus*, the priestly habit. Accordingly Eusebius[z] takes notice of him this very year as becoming famous in the account and esteem of all Christian churches.

VII. Before Severus left Rome, in order to his Britannic expedition, were solemnized the *Decennalia* of Antoninus Caracalla, when besides many magnificent sports and shows, and a largess bestowed upon the people, the emperor gave a donative to the soldiers, which every one that received, was to come up to the tribune with a laurel crown upon his head: among the rest there was one a Christian,[a] who brought his crown along with him in his hand, and being asked the reason why like others he wore it not upon his head? answered, he could not, for that he was a

[u] Euseb. Chron. ad eund. Ann. [x] Spartian. in vit. Sever. c. 18.
[y] De Pall. c. 4. [z] Chron. ad An. 208. [a] De Coron. Milit. c. 1.

Christian. A council of war was presently called, and the man accused before the general, stripped of his military ornaments, his cloak, shoes, and sword, unmercifully beaten, till he was dyed in his own blood, and then cast into prison, there expecting martyrdom, and a better donative and reward from Christ. The rest of the Christians, who were fellow-soldiers in the same army, took offence at his over-nice scrupulosity. What was this but needlessly to betray their liberty, and to sacrifice the general quiet and peace of Christians to one man's private humour? to give the common enemy too just a provocation to fall upon them? where did the laws of their religion forbid such an innocent compliance, nay, rather not only give leave, but command us prudently to decline a danger, by withdrawing from it? what was this but a sturdy and an affected singularity, as if he had been the only Christian? Tertullian, whose mighty zeal engaged him to be a patron to whatever had but the shadow of strictness and severity, presently set himself to defend the fact, and wrote his book *De Corona Militis*, wherein he cries up the act as an heroic piece of zeal and Christian magnanimity, not only warrantable, but honourable; not only lawful, but just and necessary; fortifying his assertion with several arguments, and endeavouring to disable the most specious objections that were made against it. This military act, and Tertullian's vindication of it, happened (as we have here placed it) Ann. Chr. 208, Sever. 16; while others refer it to the year 199, Sever. 7, when the emperor, by the decree of the senate, created his elder son Antoninus emperor, and his younger Geta, Cæsar; in testimony whereof he entertained the people with various shows and solemnities, and bestowed a donative upon the soldiers. If the reader like this period of time better, I will not contend with him, it being what I myself, upon second thoughts, do not think improbable.

VIII. But "let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall."[b] Tertullian, who had hitherto stood firm and right in the communion of the Catholic church, began now, about the middle of his age, says St. Hierom,[c] (which I am inclinable rather to understand of his age as a Christian, than the current of his life,) to incline towards the errors of the Montanists. Of which before we give an account, it may not be amiss a little to in-

[b] 1 Cor. x. 12.

[c] De Script. in Tertull.

quire into the author and principles of that sect. Montanus[d] was born at Ardaba, a little village in Mysia in the confines of Phrygia, where about the latter times of Antoninus Pius, but especially in the reign of his successor, he began to shew himself. Pride and an immoderate ambition betrayed the man into the snare and condemnation of the devil: at which breach Satan having entered, took possession of the man; who, acted by the influence of an evil spirit, was wont on a sudden to fall into enthusiastic fits and ecstatic raptures, and while he was in them, in a furious and a frantic manner he poured out wild and unheard-of things, prophesying of what was to come in a way and strain that had not been used hitherto in the church. Proselytes he wanted not, that came over to his party. At first only some few of his countrymen, the Phrygians (whence his sect derived the title of Cataphryges) were drawn into the snare, whom he instructed in the arts of evil speaking, teaching them to reproach the whole Christian church for refusing to entertain and honour his pseudo-prophetic spirit; the same spirit on the contrary pronouncing them blessed that joined themselves to this new prophet, and swelling them with the mighty hopes and promises of what should happen to them, sometimes also gently reproving and condemning them. Among the rest of his disciples two women were especially remarkable, Prisca and Maximilla, whom having first corrupted, he imparted his demon to them, whereby they were presently enabled to utter the most frantic, incoherent, and extravagant discourses. The truth is, he seemed to lay his scene with all imaginable craft and subtlety; in the great and foundation-principles of religion he agreed with the Catholics, embraced entirely the holy scriptures, and pretended that he must receive the gifts of divine grace extraordinarily conferred upon him, which he gave out were more immediately the Holy Ghost: he made a singular show of some uncommon rigours and severities in religion; gave laws for more strict and solemn fasts, and more frequently to be observed than were among the orthodox; taught divorces to be lawful, and forbade all second marriages; called Pepuza and Tymium, two little towns of Phrygia, Jerusalem, that so he might the more plausibly invite simple and unwary proselytes to flock thither. And

[d] Vet. Script. ap. Euseb. l. v. c. 16. Apollon. ibid. c. 18. Epiph. Hæres. xlviii. s. 1. Tertull. de Præscript. Hæret. c. 52.

because he knew no surer way to oblige such persons as would be serviceable to him, than by proposals of gain and advantage, he used all methods of extorting money from his deluded followers, especially under the notion of gifts and offerings; for which purpose he appointed collectors to receive the oblations that were brought in, with which he maintained under-officers, and paid salaries to those that propagated his doctrines up and down the world. Such were the arts, such the principles of the sect first started by Montanus; what additions were made by his followers in after-ages, I am not now concerned to inquire.

IX. Allured with the smooth and specious pretences of this sect, Tertullian began to look that way, though the particular occasion of his starting aside, St. Hierom tells us,[f] was the envy and reproaches which he met with from the clergy of the church of Rome. They that conceive him to have sued for the see of Carthage, vacant by the death of Agrippinus, and that he was opposed and repulsed in it by the clergy of Rome, and so highly resented the affront, as thereupon to quit the communion of the Catholic church, talk at random, and little consider the mortified temper of the man, and his known contempt of the world. Probable it is, that being generally noted for the excessive and over-rigorous strictness of his manners, he had been charged by some of the Roman clergy for compliance with Montanus, and, it may be, admonished to recant, or disown those principles; which his stubborn and resolute temper not admitting, he was, together with Proclus and the rest of the Cataphrygian party, cut off by the bishop of Rome from all communion with that church. For there had been lately a disputation held at Rome between Caius, an ancient orthodox divine, and Proclus, one of the heads of the Montanist party, (as Eusebius,[g] who read the account of it published by Caius, informs us,) wherein Proclus being worsted, was together with all the followers of that sect excommunicated, and Tertullian himself among the rest, as he sufficiently intimates.[h] This, a man of morose and unyielding disposition, and who could brook no moderation that seemed to intrench upon the discipline and practice of religion, could not bear, and therefore making light of the judgment and censures

[f] De Script. in Tertull. Vid. Niceph. l. iv. c. 12.

[g] Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 20. l. ii. c. 25. Hieron. de Script. in Caio. [h] De Jejun. c. 1.

of that church, flew off, and joined himself to Montanus's party, whose pretended austerities seemed of all others most agreeable to his humour and genius, and most exactly to conspire with the course and method of his life. But as it cannot be doubted that he looked no further than to the appearances and pretensions of that sect, (not seeing the corrupt springs by which the engine was managed within,) so it is most reasonable and charitable to conceive, that he never understood their principles in the utmost latitude and extent of them. If he seems sometimes to acknowledge Montanus to be the Paraclete that was to come into the world, probably he meant not something distinct from the Holy Spirit bestowed upon the apostles, but a mighty power and extraordinary assistance of the Holy Ghost shed upon Montanus, whom God had sent into the world, more fully and perfectly to explain the doctrines of the gospel, and to urge the rules and institutions of the Christian life, which our Lord had delivered when he was upon earth, but did not with the greatest accuracy the things were capable of, the minds of men not being then duly qualified to receive them. That for this end he thought Montanus invested with miraculous powers and a spirit of prophecy, (a thing not unusual even in those times,) and might believe his two prophetesses to be acted with the same spirit: all which might consist with an honest mind, imposed upon by crafty and plausible pretences. And plain it is that for some considerable time Montanus maintained the reputation of great piety, zeal, sanctity, and extraordinary gifts, before he was discovered to the world. And Tertullian in all likelihood had his accounts concerning him, not from himself, but from Proclus, or some others of the party, who might easily delude him, especially in matters of fact, with false informations. However nothing can be more evident, than that he looked upon these new prophets as innovating nothing in the principles of Christianity;[i] that Montanus preached no other God, nor asserted any thing to the prejudice of our blessed Saviour, nor subverted any rule of faith or hope, but only introduced greater severities than other men: that he was not the author, but the restorer of discipline, and only reduced things to that ancient strictness, from which he supposed they had degenerated, especially in the cases of celibacy, single marriages, and such like, as he more than once particularly tells us.[k] Not

[i] De Jejun. c. 1. [k] Vid. l. de Monogam. c. 1, 3, 4. et passim de Jejun. c. 12.

to say, that Montanus's followers (as is usual with the after-brood of every sect) asserted many things which their master himself never dreamt of, which yet without distinction are laid at his door; and Tertullian too, because a favourer of the party, drawn into the guilt, and made liable to many improvements, to the hay and stubble which the successors of that sect built upon it.

X. But however it was, he stomached his excommunication, and was highly offended at the looseness and remissness of the discipline among the Catholics, whom with great smartness he persecutes under the name of *psychici*, or animal persons, as those that took too much liberties in their manners and practices of devotion; styling his own party *spiritales*, as whom he thought more immediately guided by the Spirit, more plentifully endowed with the gifts of it, and conversant in a more divine and spiritual life. Against these *psychici* he presently published a tract *De Jejuniis*, wherein he defends the Montanists in the observation of their fasts, their abstinence from flesh, and feeding only upon dried meats; their stationary days, and the keeping them till the very evening; while the orthodox broke up theirs about three of the clock in the afternoon; in all which respects he makes many tart and severe reflections upon them. Indeed the devotions of those times were brisk and fervent, their usages strict and punctual, their ecclesiastic discipline generally very rigid and extreme, seldom admitting persons that had lapsed after baptism to penance and the communion of the church. But this was looked upon by moderate and sober men as making the gate too straight, and that which could not but discourage converts from entering in. Accordingly it began to be relaxed in several places, and particularly the bishop of Rome[1] had lately published a constitution, wherein he admitted persons guilty of adultery and fornication (and probably other crimes) to a place among the penitents. Against this Tertullian storms, cries up the severity of the ancient discipline, writes his book *De Pudicitia*, wherein he considers and disputes the case, and aggravates the greatness of those offences, and undertakes the arguments that pleaded for remission and indulgence. And if in the mentioning this decree the bishop of Rome be styled *episcopus episcoporum*, the champions of that church, before they make such advantage of it,

[1] Tertull. de Pudicit. c. 1.

should do well to prove it to have been a part of the decree, or, if it was, that it was mentioned by Tertullian as his just right and privilege, and not rather (which is infinitely more probable) Tertullian's sarcasm, intended by him as an ironical reflection, and a tart upbraiding the pride and ambition of the bishops of that church, who took too much upon them, and began (as appears from pope Victor's carriage towards the Asian churches in the case of Easter) to domineer over their brethren, and usurp an insolent authority over the whole Christian church. And that this was his meaning, I am abundantly satisfied from Cyprian's[m] using the phrase in this very sense in the famous synod at Carthage, where reflecting upon the rash and violent proceedings of the bishops of Rome (whom though he particularly names not, yet all who are acquainted with the story know whom he means) against those who were engaged in the cause of rebaptizing heretics, he adds, "that as for themselves (the bishops then in the synod) none of them made himself bishop of bishops, or by a tyrannical threatening forced his colleagues into a necessity of compliance: since every bishop, according to the power and liberty granted to him, had his proper jurisdiction, and could no more be judged by another, than he himself could judge others."

XI. Whether ever he was reconciled to the catholic communion, appears not; it is certain that for the main he forsook the Cataphrygians,[n] and kept his separate meetings at Carthage, and his church was yet remaining till St. Augustine's time, by whose labours the very relics of his followers, called Tertullianists, were dispersed, and quite disappeared. How long he continued after his departure from the church, is not known; St. Hierom says,[o] that he lived to a very decrepit age, but whether he died under the reign of Alexander Severus, or before, the ancients tell us not, as neither whether he died a natural or violent death. He seems indeed to have been possessed with a passionate desire of laying down his life for the faith; though had he been a martyr, some mention would without peradventure have been made of it in the writings of the church.

XII. He was a man of a smart and acute wit, though a little too much edged with keenness and satirism, *acris et vehementis*

[m] Concil. Carth. ap. Cypr. p. 229.
[n] August. de Hæres. c. 86. vol. viii. p. 24.
[o] De Script. in Tertull.

ingenii, as St. Hierom characters him,[p] one that knew not how to treat an adversary without salt and sharpness. He was of a stiff and rugged disposition; a rigid censor, inclined to choler, and impatient of opposition; a strict observer of rites and discipline, and a zealous asserter of the highest rigours and most nice severities of religion. His learning was admirable, wherein though many excelled, he had no superiors, and few equals in the age he lived in: *Tertulliano quid eruditius, quid acutius?* says St. Hierom,[q] who adds that his Apology, and book against the Gentiles, took in all the treasures of human learning. Vincentius[r] of Lire gives him this notable eulogium: "he is justly (says he) to be esteemed the prince among the writers of the Latin church. For what more learned? who more conversant both in divine and human studies? who by a strange largeness and capacity of mind had drawn all philosophy, and its several sects, the authors and abettors of heresies with all their rites and principles, and the whole circumference of history and all kind of study, within the compass of his own breast. A man of such quick and weighty parts, that there was scarce any thing which he set himself against, which he did not either pierce through with the acumen of his wit, or batter down with the strength and solidity of his arguments. Who can sufficiently commend his discourses, so thick set with troops of reasons, that whom they cannot persuade, they are ready to force to an assent? who hath almost as many sentences as words, and not more periods than victories over those whom he hath to deal with."

XIII. For his books, though time has devoured many, yet a great number still remain, and some of them written after his withdrawment from the church. His style is for the most part abrupt and haughty, and its face full of ancient wrinkles, of which Lactantius[s] long since gave this censure: that though he himself was skilled in all points of learning, yet his style was rugged and uneasy, and very obscure; as indeed it requires a very attentive and diligent, a sharp and sagacious understanding; yet is it lofty and masculine, and carries a kind of majestic eloquence along with it, that gives a pleasant relish to the judicious and inquisitive reader. It is deeply tinctured with the

[p] De Script. in Tertull. [q] Epist. lxxxiii. ad Magn. Orat. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 656.
[r] Commonit. adv. Hæres. c. 24. [s] Lib. v. cap. 1.

African dialect, and owes not a little of its perplexedness and obscurity to his conversing so much in the writings of the Greeks, whose forms and idioms he had so made his own, that they naturally flowed into his pen; and how great a master he was of that tongue is plain, in that himself tells us,[t] he wrote a book concerning Baptism, and some others, in Greek: which could not but exceedingly vitiate and infect his native style, and render it less smooth, elegant, and delightful; as we see in Ammianus Marcellinus, who, being a Greek born, wrote his Roman History in Latin, in a style rough and unpleasant, and next door to barbarous. Besides, what was in itself obscure and uneven, became infinitely worse by the ignorance of succeeding ages, who changed what they did not understand, and crowded in spurious words in the room of those which were proper and natural, till they had made it look like quite another thing than what it was when it first came from under the hand of its author.

XIV. His errors and unsound opinions are frequently noted by St. Augustine and the ancients, (not to mention later censors,) and Pamelius has reduced his paradoxes to thirty one, which, together with their explications and antidotes, he has prefixed before the editions of his works. That of Montanus's being the Paraclete we noted before; and for other things relating to that sect, they are rather matters concerning order and discipline, than articles and points of faith. It cannot be denied but that he has some unwarrantable notions, common with other writers of those times, and some more peculiar to himself. But he lived in an age when the faith was yet green and tender; when the church had not publicly and solemnly defined things by explicit articles and nice propositions; when the philosophy of the schools was mainly predominant, and men ran immediately from the *stoa* and the academy to the church; when a greater latitude of opining was indulged, and good men were infinitely more solicitous about piety and a good life than about modes of speech, and how to express every thing so critically and exactly, that it should not be liable to a severe scrutiny and examination.

[t] De Baptism. c. 15. De Coron. c. 6.

His Writings.

Genuine.

Apologeticus.
Ad Nationes, Libri duo.
De Testimonio Animæ.
Ad Scapulam.
De Spectaculis.
De Idololatria.
De Corona.
De Pallio.
De Pœnitentia.
De Oratione.
Ad Martyras.
De Patientia.
De cultu fœminarum, Libri duo.
Ad Uxorem, Libri duo.
De Virginibus Velandis.
Adversus Judæos.
De Præscriptione Hæreticorum.
De Baptismo.
Adversus Hermogenem.
Adversus Valentinianos.
De Anima.
De Carne Christi.
De Resurrectione Carnis.
Adversus Marcionem, Libri quinque.
Scorpiace.
Adversus Praxeam.

Libri post Lapsum in Montanismum scripti.

De Exhortatione Castitatis.
De Monogamia.
De fuga in Persecutione.
De Jejuniis.
De Pudicitia.

Supposititious.

Poemata.

Adversus Marcionem, Libri quinque.
De judicio Domini.
Genesis.
Sodoma.

Not Extant.

De Paradiso.
De Spe Fidelium.
De Ecstasi.
Adversus Apollonium.
Adversus Apellecianos.
De Vestibus Aaron.
De Censu Animæ.

Græce.

De Corona.
De Virginibus Velandis.
De Baptismo.

THE LIFE OF ORIGEN,

PRESBYTER, CATECHIST OF ALEXANDRIA.

Origen, where and when born. Several conjectures about the original of his name. His father, who. His juvenile education, and great towardliness in the knowledge of the scriptures. His philosophical studies under Clemens Alexandrinus. His institution under Ammonius. Ammonius, who. His fame and excellency confessed by the Gentile philosophers. Another Origen, his contemporary. These two heedlessly confounded. His father's martyrdom, and the confiscation of his estate. Origen's resolute encouragement of his father. His own passionate desire of martyrdom. His maintenance by an honourable matron of Alexandria. His zeal against heretics. His setting up a private school. His succeeding Clemens in the catechetic school at eighteen years of age. The frequency of his auditors. Many of them martyrs for the faith. Origen's resolution in attending upon the martyrs. His danger. His courageous act at the temple of Serapis. His emasculating himself, and the reasons of it. The eminent chastity of those primitive times. Origen's journey to Rome, and return to Alexandria. His taking in a colleague into the catechetic office. His learning the Hebrew tongue. The prudent method of his teaching. Ambrosius converted. Who he was. His great intimacy with Origen. Origen sent for by the governor of Arabia. His journey into Palestine, and teaching at Cæsarea. Remanded by the bishop of Alexandria. Alexander Severus, his excellent virtues, and kindness for the Christian religion. Origen sent for by the empress Mammæa to Antioch. He begins to write his Commentaries. How many notaries and transcribers employed, and by whom maintained. Notaries, their original and office: their use and institution in the primitive church. His journey into Greece. His passage through Palestine, and being ordained presbyter at Cæsarea. Demetrius of Alexandria, his envy and rage against him. Origen condemned in two synods at Alexandria, and one at Rome. The resignation of his catechetic school to Heraclas. Heraclas, who. The story of his offering sacrifice. The credit of this story questioned, and why. His departure from Alexandria, and fixing at Cæsarea. The eminency of his school there. Gregorius Thaumaturgus, his scholar. His friendship with Firmilian. Firmilian, who. The persecution under Maximinus. Origen's book written to the martyrs. His retirement, whither. His comparing the versions of the Bible. His Tetrapla, Hexapla, and Octapla, what, and how managed: a specimen given of them. His second journey to Athens. His going to Nicomedia, and letter to Africanus about the History of Susanna. His confutation of Beryllus in Arabia. His answer to Celsus. Celsus, who. Origen's letters to Philip the emperor. The vanity of making him a Christian. Origen's journey into Arabia to refute heresies. The Helcesaitæ, who: what their principles. Alexander's miraculous election to the see of Jerusalem; his coadjutorship, government, sufferings, and martyrdom. Origen's grievous sufferings

at Tyre under the Decian persecution. His deliverance out of prison: age and death. His character. His strict life. His mighty zeal, abstinence, contempt of the world, indefatigable diligence, and patience noted. His natural parts; incomparable learning. His books, and their several classes. His style, what. His unsound opinions. The great outcry against him in all ages. The apologies written in his behalf. Several things noted out of the ancients to extenuate the charge. His assertions not dogmatical. Not intended for public view. Generally such as were not determined by the church. His books corrupted, and by whom. His own complaints to that purpose. The testimonies of Athanasius, and Theotimus, and Haymo, in his vindication. Great errors and mistakes acknowledged. What things contributed to them. His great kindness for the Platonic principles. St. Hierom's moderate censure of him. His repenting of his rash propositions. His writings enumerated, and what now extant.

Origen, called also Adamantius, (either from the unwearied temper of his mind, and that strength of reason wherewith he compacted his discourses, or his firmness and constancy in religion, notwithstanding all the assaults made against it,) was born at Alexandria, the known metropolis of Egypt; unless we will suppose, that upon some particular tumult or persecution raised against the Christians in that city, his parents fled for refuge to the mountainous parts thereabouts, where his mother was delivered of him, and that thence he was called Origenes, *quasi ἐν ὄρει γεννηθείς*, (which most conceive to be the etymology of his name,) "one born in the mountains."[a] But whether that be the proper derivation of the word, or the other the particular occasion of its imposition, let the reader determine as he please. However, I believe the reader will think it a much more probable and reasonable conjecture, than what one supposes,[b] that he was so called because born of holy parents; the saints in scripture being (as he tells us) sometimes metaphorically styled Mountains. The first and the last, I dare say, that ever made that conjecture. A learned man[c] supposes him rather (and thinks no doubt can be made of it) so called from Orus, an Egyptian word, and with them the title of Apollo or the sun, (from אור, no question, which signifies light or fire,) one of their principal deities. Hence Orus, the name of one of the Egyptian kings, as it has been also of many others. And thus, as *ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς comes Diogenes*, one born of Jupiter, so *ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὥρου* is derived Origenes, one descended of Or or Orus, a deity solemnly worshipped at Alexandria: a conjecture that might have com-

[a] Suid. in voc. Orig.
[b] Halloix not. ad Orig. defens. c. 1.
[c] Voss. de Idol. l. ii. c. 10.

manded its own entertainment, did not one prejudice lie against it, that we can hardly conceive so good a man, and so severe a Christian as Origen's father, would impose a name upon his child for which he must be beholden to an heathen deity, and whom he might see every day worshipped with the most sottish idolatry, that he should let him perpetually carry about that remembrance of pagan idolatry in his name, which they so particularly and so solemnly renounced in their baptism. But to return.

II. He was born about the year of our Lord 186, being seventeen years of age at his father's death,[d] who suffered Ann. Chr. 202, Severi 10. His father was Leonides, whom Suidas[e] and some others (without any authority, that I know of, from the ancients) make a bishop: to be sure he was a good man, and a martyr for the faith. In his younger years he was brought up under the tutorage of his own father,[f] who instructed him in all the grounds of human literature, and, together with them, took especial care to instil the principles of religion, seasoning his early age with the notices of divine things, so that like another Timothy, "from a child he knew the holy scriptures,"[g] and was thoroughly exercised and instructed in them. Nor was his father more diligent to insinuate his instructions, than the subject he managed was capable to receive them. Part of his daily task was to learn and repeat some parts of the holy scriptures, which he readily discharged. But not satisfied with the bare reading or recital of them, he began to inquire more narrowly into the more profound sense of them, often importuning his father with questions, what such or such a passage of scripture meant. The good man, though seemingly reproving his busy forwardness, and admonishing him to be content with the plain obvious sense, and not to ask questions above his age, did yet inwardly rejoice in his own mind, and heartily bless God that he had made him the father of such a child. Much ado had the prudent man to keep the exuberance of his love and joy from running over before others, but in private he gave it vent, frequently going into the chamber where the youth lay asleep, and reverently kissing his naked breast, the treasury of an early piety and a divine spirit, reflected upon himself how

[d] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 2.
[e] In voc. Ὠριγένης.
[f] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 2.
[g] 2 Tim. iii. 15.

happy he was in so excellent a son. So great a comfort, so invaluable a blessing is it to pious parents to see their children setting out betimes in the way of righteousness, and sucking in religion almost with their mother's milk.

III. Having passed over his paternal education, he was put to perfect his studies under the institution of Clemens Alexandrinus, then regent of the catechist school at Alexandria, where, according to the acuteness of his parts and the greatness of his industry, he made vast improvements in all sorts of learning. From him he betook himself to Ammonius, who had then newly set up a Platonic school at Alexandria, and had reconciled those inveterate feuds and differences that had been between the schools of Plato and Aristotle,[h] and which had reigned among their disciples till his time; which he did, (says my author,) ἐνθουσιάσας πρὸς τὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀληθινὸν, "out of a divine transport for the truth of philosophy;" despising the little opinions and wrangling contentions of peevish men, and propounding a more free and generous kind of philosophy to his auditors: among whom was our Origen, as Porphyry, besides other witnesses,[i] who saw Origen when himself but a youth. This Ammonius was called Saccas, (from his carrying sacks of corn upon his back,[k] being a porter by employment, before he betook himself to the study of philosophy,) one of the most learned and eloquent men of those times, a great philosopher, and the chief of the Platonic sect; and, which was above all, a Christian, born and brought up among them, as Porphyry himself is forced to confess:[l] though when he tells us, that afterwards, upon maturer consideration, and his entering upon philosophy, he renounced Christianity, and embraced Paganism and the religion of the empire, he is as little to be credited, and guilty of as notorious a falsehood, (as Eusebius observes,) as when he affirms that Origen was born and bred up a Gentile, and then turned off to Christianity; whenas nothing was more evident, than that Origen was born of Christian parents, and that Ammonius retained his Christian and divine philosophy to the very last minute of his life, whereof the books which he left behind him were a standing evidence. Indeed, Eutychius, pa-

[h] Hierocl. l. i. de provid. et fat. ap. Phot. Cod. CCXIV. et Cod. CCLI.
[i] Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 19. vid. Theod. adv. Gentil. Disput. vi. vol. iv. p. 869.
[k] Vid. Theod. loco citat.
[l] Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 19.

triarch of Alexandria,[m] (if he means the same,) seems to give some countenance to Porphyry's report, and further adds, that Ammonius was one of the twenty bishops which Heraclas, then bishop of Alexandria, constituted over the Egyptian churches, but that he deserted his religion; which Heraclas no sooner heard of, but he convened a synod of bishops, and went to the city, where Ammonius was bishop, where having thoroughly scanned and discussed the matter, he reduced him back again to the truth. Whether he found this among the records of that church, or took it from the mouth of tradition and report, is uncertain, the thing not being mentioned by any other writer. But however it was, it is plain that Ammonius was a man of incomparable parts and learning; Hierocles himself[n] styles him Θεοδίδακτον, one "taught of God;" and when Plotinus the great Platonist had found him out, he told his friend in a kind of triumph, that this was the man whom he had sought after.[o] Under him Origen made himself perfect master of the Platonic notions, being daily conversant in the writings of Plato, Numenius, Cronius, Apollophanes, Longinus, Moderatus, Nicomachus, and the most principal among the Pythagoreans, as also of Chæremon and Cornatus, Stoics; from whom (as Porphyry truly enough observes) he learned that allegorical and mystical way of interpretation which he introduced into the Christian doctrine.

IV. Besides our Adamantius, there was another Origen, his contemporary, a Gentile philosopher, honourably mentioned by Longinus,[p] Porphyry,[q] Hierocles,[r] Eunapius,[s] Proclus,[t] and others; a person of that learning and accurate judgment, that coming one day into Plotinus's school,[u] the grave philosopher was ashamed, and would have given place: and when entreated by Origen to go on with his lecture, he answered, with a compliment, that a man could have but little mind to speak there, where he was to discourse to them who understood things as well as himself; and so, after a very short discourse, broke up the meeting. I am not ignorant that most learned men have

[m] Annal. vol. i. p. 332. vid. etiam Selden. not. in Eutych. sect. 23.

[n] Lib. de Provid. et fat. ap. Phot. Cod. CCXIV.

[o] Porphyr. in vit. Plotin. p. 2. Plotin. Oper. Præf. Porphyr. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 19.

[p] Lib. περὶ τέλους apud Porphyr. in vit. Plotin.

[q] Ibid.

[r] Lib. de Provid. et fat. ap. Phot. Cod. CCXIV.

[s] In vit. Porphyr. p. 19.

[t] In Plat. Theol. l. ii. c. 4.

[u] Ap. Porphyr. loc. citat.

carelessly confounded this person with our Origen: whence Holstenius wonders,[x] why Eunapius should make him school-fellow with Porphyry, who was much his junior, whom Porphyry says, indeed, he knew, being himself then very young, and this probably not at Alexandria but at Tyre, where he was born, and where Origen a long time resided. So that his wonder would have ceased, had he considered, what is plain enough, that Eunapius meant it of this other Origen, Porphyry's fellow-pupil, not under Ammonius at Alexandria, but under Plotinus at Rome. Indeed, were there nothing else, this were enough to distinguish them, that the account given of Origen, and what he wrote, by Longinus, by Porphyry in the Life of Plotinus, and others, does no ways agree to our Christian writer.

V. The persecution under Severus, in the tenth year of his reign, was now grown hot at Alexandria, Lætus the governor daily adding fuel to the flames; where, among the great numbers of martyrs, Leonides,[y] Origen's father, was first imprisoned, then beheaded, and his estate confiscate and reduced into the public exchequer. During his imprisonment, Origen began to discover a most impatient desire of martyrdom,[z] from which scarce any entreaties or considerations could restrain him. He knew the deplorable estate wherein he was like to leave his wife and children, could not but have a sad influence upon his father's mind, whom therefore, by letters, he passionately exhorted to persevere unto martyrdom, adding this clause among the rest, "Take heed, sir, that for our sakes you do not change your mind." And himself had gone, not only to prison, but to the very block with his father, if the divine providence had not interposed. His mother perceiving his resolutions, treated him with all the charms and endearments of so affectionate a relation, attempted him with prayers and tears, entreating him, if not for his own, that at least for her sake, and his nearest relatives, he would spare himself: all which not prevailing, especially after his father's apprehension, she was forced to betake herself to little arts, hiding all his clothes, that mere shame might confine him to the house: a mighty instance, as the historian notes, of a juvenile forwardness and maturity, and a most hearty affection for the true religion.

[x] De Vit. et Script. Porphyr. c. 2.
[z] Id. ibid. c. 2.
[y] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 1.

VI. His father being dead, and the estate seized for the emperor's use,[a] he and the family were reduced to great straits. When, behold, the providence of God (who peculiarly takes care of widows and orphans, and especially the relicts of those that suffer for him) made way for their relief. A rich and honourable matron of Alexandria, pitying his miserable case, liberally contributed to his necessities, as she did to others, and among them maintained one Paul of Antioch, a ringleader of all the heretics at Alexandria, who by subtle artifices had so far insinuated himself into her, that she had adopted him to be her son. Origen, though he held his livelihood purely at her bounty, would not yet comply with this favourite, not so much as to join in prayer with him; no, not when an innumerable multitude, not only of heretics but of orthodox, daily flocked to him, taken with the eloquence of his discourses. For from his childhood he had religiously observed the rule and canon of the church, and abominated (as himself expresses it) all heretical doctrines. Whether this noble lady upon this occasion withdrew her charity, or whether he thought it more agreeable to the Christian rule to live by his own labour, than to depend wholly upon another's bounty, I know not: but having perfected those studies of foreign learning, the foundations whereof he had laid under the discipline of his father, he now began to set up for himself, opening a school for the profession of the learned arts, where, besides the good he did to others, he raised a considerable maintenance to himself. And though then but a very youth, yet did not the grave and the learned, the philosophers, and greatest masters of heresy, disdain to be present at his lectures, whose opinions he impartially weighed and examined, as himself informs us:[b] many of whom of auditors became his converts,[c] yea, and martyrs for the faith, as we shall see by and by.

VII. By this time his fame had recommended him to public notice, and he was thought fit, though but eighteen years of age, to be made master of the catechetic school at Alexandria, whether as colleague with his master Clemens, or upon resignation his successor, is uncertain: the latter seems most probable, because Eusebius reports,[d] that Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, committed the instruction of the catechumens to him only, un-

[a] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 2.
[b] Epist. ap. Euseb. l. vi. c. 19.
[c] Ibid. c. 3.
[d] Ibid.

less we will understand it of some private and particular school, distinct from the ordinary catechetic school, till Clemens's death, whose successor the ancients generally make him. Scholars in very great numbers daily crowded in upon him, so that finding he had enough to do, and that his different employments did not well consist together, he left off teaching the arts and sciences, and gave up himself entirely to the instructing his disciples in the rudiments of Christianity. Being settled in this office, he followed it with infinite diligence, and no less success. For he not only built up those who were already Christians, but gained over a great number of Gentile philosophers to the faith,[e] who embraced Christianity with so hearty and sincere a mind, as readily to seal it with their blood. Among which of most note were Plutarch, whom Origen attending to his martyrdom was like to have been killed by the people for being the author of his conversion; Serenus, who was burnt for his religion, Heraclides and Heron, both beheaded, the one while but a catechumen, the other a novice; next came a second Serenus, who, after he had endured infinite torments, lost his head, and gained a crown. Nay, the weaker sex also put in for a share: one Herais, a catechumen, and Origen's scholar, being, as himself expresses it, τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ διὰ πυρὸς λαβοῦσα, "baptized by fire," left this world, and in those flames mounted up to heaven. Nor was Origen so wholly swallowed up with the care of his school, as not to perform duties of piety and humanity towards others,[f] especially martyrs, and those that were condemned to die. For Aquila, Lætus's successor in the government of Alexandria, that he might do something singular in the entrance upon his place, renewed the persecution, which was so severe, that every one consulted his own safety, and kept close; so that when the martyrs were in prison, or led to trial or execution, there was none to comfort them, or minister unto them. This office Origen boldly took upon him, attending the martyrs to the very place of execution, embracing and saluting them as they were led along, till the enraged multitude pelted him with showers of stones, and an hundred times was he in danger of his life, had not the divine providence immediately interposed to rescue him. At last they resolved to find him out, great multitudes

[e] Euseb. lib. vi. c. 4.

[f] Ibid. c. 3.

besetting his house; and because he had vast numbers of scholars, they brought a guard of soldiers along with them, who hunted him from house to house, so that no place could afford him a quiet refuge. And to this period of time I find some learned men (and I think very probably) ascribing that passage which Epiphanius reports concerning him,[g] that he was haled up and down the city, reviled and reproached, and treated with insolent scorn and fury. Once having shaved his head after the manner of the Egyptian priests, they set him upon the steps of Serapis's temple, commanding him to give branches of palm-trees, as the priests used to do, to them that went up to perform their holy rites. He, taking the branches with a ready and unterrified mind, cried out aloud, "Come hither, and take the branch, not of an idol-temple, but of Christ." A piece of courage which I suppose did not contribute to mitigate their rage against him.

VIII. About this time he made that famous attempt upon himself, so much commended by some, but condemned by others, his making himself an eunuch; which (as appears from Epiphanius[h]) some of the ancients conceived to have been done by medicinal applications, which enervated the powers and tendencies of nature that way, though others, and St. Hierom[i] expressly, say it was done with the knife. But however it was, he did it partly out of a perverse interpretation of our Saviour's meaning,[k] when he says, "there be some which make themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake,"[l] which he would needs literally understand; partly out of a desire to take away all suspicion of wantonness and incontinency, which the Gentiles might be apt enough to cast upon him, when they saw him admit not men only, but women into his discipline; besides that hereby he himself was secured from any temptations to immodest and irregular embraces. How strict and severe was the chastity of those primitive times, we have shewed at large in another place; so great, that Justin the Martyr tells us of a young man of Alexandria,[m] who to convince the Gentiles of the falsehood of that malicious charge of incontinency and promiscuous mixtures, which they usually laid upon the Christians, presented a petition

[g] Hæres. lxiv. s. 1. [h] Ibid. s. 3.
[i] Ad Pammach. et Ocean. de Error. Orig. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 346.
[k] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 8. [l] Matt. xix. 12. [m] Apolog. i. s. 29.

to Felix the president of Alexandria, desiring his leave that the physicians might make him an eunuch, which the president refused, as prohibited by the laws of the Roman empire; as it was afterwards by several provisos and canons of the church. This fact though Origen endeavoured to conceal from some of his friends, yet did it quickly break out; and Demetrius the bishop, who now admired it as an heroic act of temperance, and an instance of a great and a daring mind, did afterwards load it with all its aggravations, and bring it in as an inexcusable charge against him. I add no more concerning this, than that whatever Origen might do now in the vigour of his youth, and through the sprightliness of his devout zeal, yet in his more considerate and reduced age he was of another mind, condemning such kind of attempts,[n] soberly enough expounding that passage of our Saviour which before he had so fatally misunderstood.

IX. Severus the emperor, that violent enemy of Christians, being dead Ann. Chr. 211, Origen had a great desire to see the church of Rome,[o] so venerable for its antiquity and renown, and accordingly came thither, while pope Zephyrin sat bishop of that see; where he stayed not long, but returned back to Alexandria, and to his accustomed catechetic office, Demetrius earnestly importuning him to resume it. But finding the employment grow upon him,[p] and so wholly to engross his time, as not to allow him the least leisure for retirement and contemplation, and the study of the scriptures, so fast did auditors press in upon him from morning to night, he took in Heraclas, who had been his scholar, a man versed both in divine and human studies, to be his partner, dividing the work between them: the younger and more untutored catechumens he committed to him; the maturer, and those who had been of a longer standing, he reserved to be instructed by himself. And now he gave up himself to a closer and more accurate study of the holy scriptures, which that he might manage with the better success, he set himself to learn the Hebrew tongue, the true key to unlock the door, (wherein, as St. Hierom probably intimates,[q] he was assisted by the help of Huillus the Jewish patriarch at that time, at least in the rabbinic exposition of the scripture,) a thing little understood in those times, and the place he lived in, and to him who was now

[n] Vid. Comm. in Matt. tom. xv. s. 1—5. [o] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 14. Ibid. c. 15. [q] Apolog. adv. Rufin. lib. i. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 363.

in the prime of his age, and the flower of more pleasing and delightful studies, no doubt very difficult and uneasy. But nothing is hard to an industrious diligence, and a willing mind.

X. Nor did his pains in this interrupt his activity in his other employments; where he perceived any of his scholars of more smart and acute understandings,[r] he first instructed them in geometry, arithmetic, and other preparatory institutions, and then brought them through a course of philosophy, discovering the principles of each sect, and explaining the books of the ancients, and sometimes himself writing comments upon them, so that the very Gentiles cried him up for an eminent philosopher. The ruder and more unpolished part of his auditory he would often exhort to the study of human arts, assuring them that they would not a little conduce to the right understanding of the holy scriptures. Many flocked to him to make trial of his famed skill and learning; others to be instructed in the precepts both of philosophy and Christianity. Great numbers of heretics were his auditors, some of whom he converted from the error of their way; and among the rest Ambrosius,[s] a man of nobility and estate at Alexandria, having been seduced into the errors of Marcion and Valentinus, being convinced by Origen's discourses, renounced his former heresies, and returned to the catholic doctrine of the church, and ever after became his intimate friend, his great patron and benefactor. He was a man of neat elegant parts, and was continually prompting Origen to explain and interpret some part of the scripture; as oft as they were together, (as Origen himself informs us[t]) he suffered not a supper-time to pass without discourses to this purpose, nor their very walks and recreations to be without them: a great part of the night, besides their morning studies, were spent upon these pious exercises; their meals and their rest were ushered in with continual lectures; and both night and day, where prayer ended reading began, as after reading they again betook themselves to prayer. Indeed this Ambrose was a pious and good man, and though so great a person, did not disdain to take upon him the office of a deacon in the church, nay to undergo great hardships and sufferings, becoming an eminent confessor for the

[r] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 18.

[s] Euseb. ibid. Hier. de Script. in Ambros. Suid. in Voc. Orig. Hæres. Epiph. lxiv. s. 3.

[t] Epist. ap. Suid. ubi supr. Vid. Hieron. Ep. xlv. ad Marcell. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 552.

faith. And there is only this blot,[u] that I know of, that sticks upon his memory, that when he died rich, he remembered not his dear and ancient friend, whose low and mean condition might well have admitted, as his pains and intimacy might deservedly have challenged, a bountiful legacy to have been bequeathed to him.

XI. About this time came a messenger[x] from the governor of Arabia with letters to Demetrius the bishop, and to the prefect of Egypt, desiring that with all speed Origen might be sent to impart the Christian doctrine to him: so considerable had the fame of this great man rendered him abroad in foreign nations. Accordingly he went into Arabia, where having despatched his errand, he came back to Alexandria. Not long after whose return, the emperor Caracalla drew his army into those parts, intending to fall severely upon that city. To avoid whose rage and cruelty, Origen thought good to withdraw himself, and not knowing any place in Egypt that could afford him shelter, he retired into Palestine, and fixed his residence at Cæsarea: where his excellent abilities being soon taken notice of, he was requested by the bishops of those parts, though but then in the capacity of a laic, publicly in the church, and before themselves, to expound the scriptures to the people. The news hereof was presently carried to Alexandria, and highly resented by Demetrius, who by letters expostulated the case with Theoctistus, bishop of Cæsarea, and Alexander of Jerusalem, as a thing never heard of before in the Christian church; who in their answer put him in mind, that this had been no such unusual thing, whereof they give him particular instances. All which satisfied not Demetrius, who by letters commanded Origen to return, and sent deacons on purpose to urge him to it, whereupon he came back and applied himself to his wonted charge.

XII. Alexander Severus, the present emperor, in order to his expedition against the Persians, was come to Antioch, attended with his mother Mammæa, a wise and prudent, and (says Eusebius[y]) a most pious and religious princess; a great influence she had upon her son, whom she engaged in a most strict and constant administration of justice, and the affairs of the empire, that he might have no leisure to be debauched by vice and

[u] Hieron. de Script. in Ambros. [x] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 19.
[y] Ibid. c. 21. Vid. excerpt. ex Joh. Antioch. per Valesium, p. 830.

luxury. Indeed he was a prince of incomparable virtues; historians representing him as mild and gentle, compassionate and charitable, sober and temperate, just and impartial, devout and pious, one advanced to the empire for the recovery and happiness of mankind. He was no enemy to Christians, whom he did not only not persecute, but favour at every turn; and in his private oratory he had, among other heroes, the images of Abraham and of Christ, and was once minded to have built a temple to him, and publicly admitted him into the number of their gods. He highly admired some precepts of the Christian religion, and from their discipline learned some rites which he made use of in the government of the empire. But to return to Mammæa: being a Syrian born, she could not be unacquainted with the affairs both of Jews and Christians; and having heard of the great fame of Origen[z] was very desirous to see him, and hear him discourse concerning religion, that she might know what it was, for which the whole world had him in such veneration. And for this purpose she sent for him, ordering a military guard to conduct him to Antioch, where he stayed some considerable time; and having fully opened the doctrines of our religion, and given her many demonstrations of the faith of Christians, to the great honour of God and of religion, he was dismissed, and permitted to return to his old charge at Alexandria.

XIII. Henceforward he set upon writing commentaries on the holy scripture,[a] at the instigation of his dear friend Ambrosius, who did not only earnestly importune him to it, but furnish him with all conveniences necessary for it; allowing him, besides his maintenance, seven (and, as occasion was, more) notaries to attend upon him, who by turns might take from his mouth what he dictated to them; and as many transcribers, besides virgins employed for that purpose, who copied out fair, what the others had hastily taken from his mouth. These notaries were very common both among the Greeks and Romans, making use of certain peculiar notes and signs, either by way of occult or short-writing, being able by the dexterity of their art to take not words only, but entire sentences. The original of it is by some ascribed to Tyro, Cicero's servant; by others to Aquila, servant to Mecænas; by

[z] Euseb. loc. citat. [a] Ibid. c. 23.

more serviceable to the affairs of the church. However the thing was infinitely resented by Demetrius, as an affront against his jurisdiction, and a contempt of his authority; and now the wind is turned into a blustering quarter, and nothing but anathemas are thundered out against him from Alexandria. Demetrius had for some time borne him a secret grudge, and he takes this occasion to fall upon him. The truth is, he envied the honour and reputation which Origen's learning and virtue had raised him in the thoughts and mouths of all men;[p] and wanting hitherto an opportunity to vent his emulation, he had now one put into his hand, and accordingly charges him with all that spite and spleen can invent, publicly accusing him (what before he admired in him) for making himself an eunuch, and severely reflecting upon the bishops that ordained him. Nay, so high did he raise the storm, that he procured Origen to be condemned in two several synods:[q] one of bishops and presbyters, who decreed that he should be banished Alexandria, and not permitted either to live, or teach there; the other under Demetrius, who, with some bishops of Egypt, pronounced him to be degraded from his priesthood, his greatest favourers subscribing the decree. St. Hierom adds,[r] that the greatest part of the Christian world consented to this condemnation, and that Rome itself convened a synod against him, not for heresy or innovations in doctrine, but merely out of envy, as not able to bear the glory and renown of his learning and eloquence; seeing, while he taught, they were looked upon as mute and dumb, as the stars disappear at the presence of the sun. And yet all this combustion vanished into smoke, Origen still retaining his priesthood, publicly preaching in the church, and being honourably entertained, wherever he came, by the wiser and more moderate party of the church.

XV. Wearied out with the vexatious assaults of his enemies, he resolved to quit Alexandria, where the sentence of the synods would not suffer him long to abide, having first resigned the government of his catechetic school entirely to his colleague Heraclas.[s] This Heraclas was a Gentile born, brother to Plutarch, who (as before we noted) suffered martyrdom for the

[p] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 8. [q] Pamphil. Apolog. ap. Phot. Cod. CXVIII.
[r] Apud Rufin. Invect. ii. in Hieron. inter opp. Hier. vol. v. p. 290.
[s] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 26.

faith, together with whom he became Origen's scholar, by whom he was converted, and built up in the faith, then taken in as his usher, or partner in the catechetic office, afterwards his successor, and last of all bishop of Alexandria: a man of unwearied diligence and a strict life; learned and eloquent, a great master in philosophy and all human, but especially versed in divine studies. He retained his philosophic habit even after he was made presbyter of Alexandria, and ceased not with a mighty industry still to read over and converse with the writings of the Gentiles; indeed arrived to that singular fame and reputation, that Julius Africanus, one of the most learned men of those times, came on purpose to Alexandria to see and hear him.[t] No wonder, therefore, if Origen committed this great care and trust to him, whose personal merit, and particular obligation as his scholar, might seem to challenge it. Before his departure, (for they that refer it to the time of Decius, speak at random, Origen not being then at Alexandria,) an accident fell out, which (if true) hastened his flight with more shame and sorrow than all the malice of his bitterest enemies could create him. Thus then we are told,[u] some Gentiles that were his mortal enemies, seized upon him, and reduced him to this strait, that either he should abuse his body with a Blackamoor, or do sacrifice to an idol. Of the two he chose to sacrifice, though it was rather their act than his, for putting frankincense into his hand, they led him up to the altar, and forced him to throw it into the fire: which yet drew so great a blot upon his name, and derived so much guilt upon his conscience, that not able to bear the public reproach, he immediately left the city. The credit of this story is not a little shaken by the universal silence of the more ancient writers in *this* matter, not so much as intimated by Eusebius, Pamphilus, or Origen's own contemporary, Dionysius of Alexandria; not objected by his greatest adversaries, as is plain from the Apologies written in his behalf; not mentioned by Porphyry, who lived in those times, and whom we cannot suppose either to have been ignorant of it, or willing to conceal it, when we find him falsely reporting of Ammonius, that he apostatized from Christianity, and of Origen himself, that he was born and bred an heathen. In short, not mentioned by any before Epiphanius,

[t] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 31.

[u] Epiph. Hæres. lxiv. n. 2. Leont. de Sect. Act. x. p. 531. vol. i. Bibl. Patr. ed. 1624.

and besides him, not by any else of that time, not St. Hierom, Rufinus, Vincentius Lerinensis, or Theophilus of Alexandria, some of whom were enemies enough to Origen. So that it was not without some plausibility of reason that Baronius suspected this passage to have been foisted into Epiphanius,[x] and not to have been the genuine issue of his pen. Though in my mind Epiphanius himself says enough to make any wise man ready to suspend his belief; for he tells us,[y] that many strange things were reported concerning Origen, which he himself gave no credit to, though he thought good to set down the reports; and how often he catches up any common rumours and builds upon them, none need to be told, that are acquainted with his writings. Nor is it likely he would balk any story that tended to Origen's disgrace, who had himself so bitter a zeal and spleen against him. I might further argue the improbability of this story from hence, that this being a long time after his famous emasculating of himself, which by this time was known all abroad, it is not reasonable to suppose, that the heathens should make the prostituting himself in committing adultery one part of his choice, which his self-contracted impotency and eunuchism had long since made impossible to him. However, supposing the matter of fact to be true, it sounds not more (especially considering how much there was of force and compulsion in it) to his disparagement, than his solemn repentance afterwards made for his honour, and when the desire to preserve his chastity inviolable is laid in the scale with his offering sacrifice.

XVI. Anno 233, Origen left Alexandria,[z] and directing his course for Palestine, went to his good friend and patron Theoctistus, bishop of Cæsarea; and from thence to Jerusalem, to salute Alexander, bishop of it, and to visit the venerable antiquities of that place. And here Epiphanius, in pursuance of the foregoing story, tells us, that being mightily importuned to preach, he stood up in the congregation, and having pronounced those words of penitent David, "But unto the wicked God saith, what hast thou to do to declare my statutes, and that thou shouldst take my covenant in thy mouth?"[a] he could go on no further, but shut the book, and laid it down, and sitting down burst out into sighs and tears, the whole congregation bearing

[x] Ad. ann. 253. n. 123.
[y] Hæres. lxiv. s. 3.
[z] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 26.
[a] Ps. l. 16.

part with him in that mournful scene. And to carry on the humour, and make the story more complete, after-ages present us with a discourse under his name,[b] called Origen's Complaint, wherein he passionately resents and laments his fall, as a desperate wound to himself, a grief to good men, and an unconceivable dishonour to God, and to religion. And pity it is, if the story be true, that this lamentation were not genuine; but as it is, the best ground it has to support itself, is, that it is calculated to gratify a pious fancy, and a melting passion; there being nothing in it otherwise worthy of this great man, and I fear was first designed by him that made it, as a reflection upon him, and to give countenance to the report that was raised concerning him. From Jerusalem he not long after returned back to Cæsarea, where (as before he had done at Alexandria) he set up a school both for divine and human learning,[c] and his great name quickly procured him scholars from all parts, not only of the country thereabouts, but from the remotest provinces: among which, of most remark, were Gregory, called afterwards Thaumaturgus, and his brother Athenodorus, who leaving the study of the law, as being more delighted with philosophy and human arts, committed themselves to his conduct and tutorage, who first instructed them in philosophy, and then trained them up to a more accurate knowledge of the Christian faith. Five years they remained under his discipline, when being sufficiently enriched with the knowledge of religion, they returned into Pontus, their own country, where they both became bishops, and proved eminent lights and governors of the church. During his residence at Cæsarea, there was a firm intimacy and league of friendship contracted between Origen and Firmilian,[d] bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, who had so great a kindness for him, that sometimes he would prevail with him to come over into that province for the edification of the churches in those parts; sometimes he himself would go into Judea to visit him, and stay a considerable while with him, to perfect himself by his society and converse. This Firmilian was a gentleman of Cappadocia, afterwards made bishop of Cæsarea in that country; a person of great name and note, and who held correspondence with most of the eminent men of those times: few considerable affairs of

[b] Extat inter Opp. Orig. vol. i. p. 752. edit. Erasm.

[c] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 30.

[d] Id. ibid. c. 27.

the church, wherein he was not concerned either by his presence or advice. Great contests were between him and Stephen, bishop of Rome, concerning the baptism of heretical persons, wherein he took part with Cyprian. He was twice at Antioch, to examine the case of Paul of Samosata, bishop of that church; and coming a third time to a synod convened there for that purpose, died at Tarsus by the way. Nor was Origen admired and courted only by foreigners and young men who had been his scholars, but by the grave and the wise at home: both Alexander and Theoctistus, though ancient bishops, did not disdain in a manner to become his disciples, committing to his single care the power of interpreting the holy scriptures, and whatever concerned the ecclesiastical doctrine.

XVII. It was now about the year 235, when Maximinus the Thracian succeeded in the empire: a man fierce and ill-natured, and, according to his education, brutish and cruel. He hated whatever had relation to his predecessor; and because the Christians had found some favourable entertainment in his family,[e] he began first with them, and especially the bishops, as the chief pillars and promoters of their religion, whom he every where commanded to be put to death. To contribute toward the consolation of Christians in this evil time, Origen wrote his book concerning martyrdom, which he jointly dedicated to his dear Ambrosius,[f] and to Protoctetus, presbyter of Cæsarea, as who had undergone a joint share of imprisonment and sufferings under the present persecution, and had made a glorious and illustrious confession of the Christian faith. As for Origen himself, he is said to have taken sanctuary in the house of Juliana, a wealthy and charitable lady, who courteously entertained him, and furnished him with books useful for him; particularly with Symmachus's version of the Old Testament,[g] and his Commentaries in defence of the Ebionites, particularly levelled against St. Matthew's gospel: books which Juliana enjoyed as by right of inheritance devolved upon her.

XVIII. While he enjoyed the happy opportunity of this retirement, he more directly applied himself to what he had long since designed, the collecting and collating the several editions and versions of the Old Testament with the original text, which

[e] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 28.
[f] Exhort. ad Martyr. a. 1. vol. i. p. 274.
[g] Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 17.

he finished by three several parts,[h] the Tetrapla, the Hexapla, and the Octapla. In the first (which, considered as a distinct part, was made last) were four translations, set one over against another; that of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion; these made up the Tetrapla. In the second were these four versions disposed in the same order, and two other columns set before them, thus: first the Hebrew text in its own letters; then in a column next adjoining, the same Hebrew text in Greek characters, that they who were strangers to the one, might be able to read the other: next followed the several versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion. And these constituted the Hexapla. Where the Septuagint, being placed after that of Aquila and Symmachus, gave some ignorant undiscerning persons occasion to think, that it had been made after the two former: whereas it was placed in the middle (as Epiphanius informs us[i]) only as a standard, by which the goodness and sincerity of the rest were to be tried and judged. In the third, which made the Octapla, were all that were in the former, and in the same manner, and two more versions added at the end of them; one called the fifth edition, found by a student at Jerusalem, in a hogshead at Jericho, in the time of the emperor Caracalla; and another, styled the sixth edition, found by one of Origen's scholars, at Nicopolis near Actium, in the reign of Alexander Severus: all which in the Octapla were disposed in several columns in this order: in the first column was the original Hebrew, in its native characters, in the next the Hebrew in Greek letters, in the third the translation of Aquila, then that of Symmachus, next the Septuagint, in the sixth that of Theodotion, and in the two last that of Jericho, and the other of Nicopolis. Indeed plain it is from what St. Hierom tells us,[k] that these two last were not complete and entire translations, but contained only some parts of the Old Testament, especially the prophetical books. But whether from hence we may conclude the Hexapla and the Octapla to have been but one and the same work, only receiving its different title according to those parts that had these two last versions annexed to them, I will not say. Besides these there was a seventh edition; but

[h] Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 16. Epiph. Hæres. lxiv. s. 3. De pond. et mensur. s. 7. 19. Hier. de Script. in Orig. et Suid. in voc. Orig.

[i] De pond. et mensur. s. 19. [k] Comm. in Tit. iii. vol. iv. par. i. p. 437.

this belonging only to the book of Psalms, made no alteration in the title of the whole. The frame and order of this excellent contrivance, the reader will better apprehend by this following scheme, formed according to a specimen of the Hexapla extant in cardinal Barberine's very ancient manuscript of the minor prophets, upon these words, "When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt."[1]

[1] Hos. xi. 1.

TETRAPLA.	AQUILA. *Ὅτι παῖς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν, καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου.*	SYMMACHUS. *Ὅτι παῖς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἠγαπημένος, ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κέκληται υἱός μου.*	LXX. *Διότι νήπιος Ἰσραὴλ, ἐγὼ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ.*	THEODOTION. *Ὅτι νήπιος Ἰσραὴλ, ἐκάλεσα υἱόν μου.*				
HEXAPLA.	HEB. LIT. HEB. כי נער ישראל וא הבהו ו ממצרים קראתי בני	HEB. LIT. GR. *χι νερ Ἰσραὴλ ουεἄβηοὺ οὐ μεμμεσραϊμ καραθι βανι.*	AQUILA. *Ὅτι παῖς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν, καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου.*	SYMMACHUS. *Ὅτι παῖς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἠγαπημένος, ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κέκληται υἱός μου.*	LXX. *Διότι νήπιος Ἰσραὴλ, ἐγὼ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ.*	THEODOTION. *Ὅτι νήπιος Ἰσραὴλ, ἐκάλεσα υἱόν μου.*		
OCTAPLA.	TEXT. HEB. LIT. HEB. כי נער " ut supra.	HEB. LIT. GRÆC. *χι νερ,* &c.	AQUILA. *Ὅτι παῖς,* &c.	SYMMACHUS. *Ὅτι παῖς,* &c.	LXX. *Διότι νήπιος,* &c.	THEODOTION. *Ὅτι νήπιος,* &c.	EDIT. V. Hierich. *Desideratur.*	EDIT. VI. Nicopol. *Desideratur.*

And to make the work more complete and useful, he distinguished the additions and deficiencies by several marks,[m] where any thing had been added by the Septuagint, besides the faith of the original text, he prefixed an obelus before it; where any thing was wanting, which yet was in the Hebrew, he inserted the words with an asterisk, to distinguish them from the rest of the Septuagint translation. Where various lections were confirmed by the greater number of translations, he added a note called *lemniscus*, where two of them only concurred, an *hypolemniscus:* by which means he did right to truth, without doing wrong to any: a work of infinite labour and admirable use, and which was therefore peculiarly styled by the ancients *Opus Ecclesiæ*, "the work of the church," upon the account whereof St. Hierom calls him *immortale illud ingenium;*[n] as, indeed, had there been nothing else, this alone had been sufficient to have eternized his name, and to have rendered him memorable to posterity: and how happy had it been, had it been preserved, the loss whereof I can attribute to nothing more than the pains and charge, the trouble and difficulty of transcribing it. Though some part of it, viz. the Septuagint, was taken out, and published more exact and correct from the faults which had crept into it by transcribing, by Eusebius and Pamphilus afterwards. It was a work of time, and not finished by Origen all at once; begun by him at Cæsarea, and perfected at Tyre, as Epiphanius plainly intimates.

XIX. From Cæsarea, Origen, upon what occasion I know not, seems to have taken a second journey to Athens. For during his stay there, we find him finishing his commentaries upon Ezekiel,[o] and beginning his exposition upon the Canticles, five books whereof he there perfected, making an end of the rest at his return to Cæsarea. The opportunity of this journey, it is conceived by some, he took to go to Nicomedia, to visit his friend Ambrosius, who, with his wife and children, at that time resided there. While he continued here (which was not long) he returned an answer to the letter which he had lately received from Julius Africanus, concerning the history of Susanna; which

[m] Vid. præter script. citat. Orig. Comm. in Matt. tom. xv. s. 14. et Epist. ad African. s. 4. vol. i. p. 16. Vid. Rufin. Invect. ii. in Hieron. inter opp. Hier. vol. v. p. 298.

[n] Comm. in Tit. iii. vol. iv. par. i. p. 437.

[o] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 32.

Africanus, by short but very forcible arguments, maintained to be a fictitious and spurious relation. Origen undertakes the case, and justifies the story to be sincere and genuine, but by arguments which rather manifest the acuteness of his parts than the goodness of his cause, and clearly shew how much men of the greatest learning and abilities are put to it, when engaged to uphold a weak side, and which has no truth of its own to support itself. It happened about this time that Beryllus, bishop of Bostra in Arabia,[p] fell into absurd and dangerous errors; asserting, that our Lord, before his incarnation, had no proper subsistence, no personal deity, but only a derivative divinity from his Father. The bishops of those parts met about it, but could not reclaim the man; whereupon Origen's assistance was requested, who went thither, and treated with him both in private conferences and in public synods. His greatest difficulty was to know what the man meant, which, when he had once found out, he plied him so hard with cogent reasonings and demonstrations, that he was forced to let go his hold, recant his errors, and return back into the way of truth: which done, Origen took his leave, and came back for Palestine. And Beryllus,[q] as became a true convert, in several letters gave thanks to Origen for his kind pains in his conviction, kissing the hand that brought him back.

XX. Origen was now advanced above the age of three-score,[r] and yet remitted nothing of his incredible industry, either in preaching or writing. At Ambrosius's entreaty he took to task Celsus's book against the Christians. This Celsus was an Epicurean philosopher, contemporary with Lucian, the witty atheist, who dedicated his Pseudomantis to him, as indeed there seems to have been a more than ordinary sympathy of humour and genius between these two persons. Celsus was a man of wit and parts, and had all the advantages which learning, philosophy, and eloquence could add to him; but a severe and incurable enemy to the Christian religion, against which he wrote a book entitled Ἀληθὴς λόγος, or "The true Discourse;" wherein he attempted Christianity with all the arts of insinuation, all the witty reflections, virulent aspersions, plausible reasonings, wherewith a man of parts and malice was capable to assault it. To this Origen returns a full and solid answer in eight books;

[p] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 33.
[q] Hieron. de Script. in Beryll.
[r] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 36.

wherein, as he had the better cause, so he managed it with that strength of reason, clearness of argument, and convictive evidence of truth, that, were there nothing else to testify the abilities of this great man, this book alone were enough to do it. It was written probably about the beginning of the reign of Philip the emperor, with whom Origen seems to have had some acquaintance, who wrote one letter to him, and another to the empress:[s] from whence, and some other little probabilities, Eusebius first, and after him the generality of ecclesiastic writers, have made that emperor to have been a Christian, and the first of the imperial line that was so. The vanity of which mistake, and the original from whence it sprung, we have shewed elsewhere. Nor is the matter mended by those who say, that Philip was privately baptized by Fabian, bishop of Rome, and so his Christian profession was known only to the Christians, but concealed from the Gentiles; which being but a conjecture, and a *gratis dictum*, without any authority to confirm it, may with the same ease and as much justice be rejected, as it is obtruded and imposed upon us. Nor has the late learned publisher of some tracts of Origen[t] (who, in order to the securing the "Dialogue against the Marcionites" to belong to Origen, has newly enforced this argument) said any thing that may persuade a wise man to believe a story so improbable in all its circumstances, and which must have made a louder noise in the world, and have had more and better witnesses to attest it, than an obscure and uncertain report, the only authority which Eusebius, who gave the first hint of it, pretends in this matter.

XXI. The good success which Origen lately had in Arabia in the cause of Beryllus made him famous in all those parts, and his help was now again desired upon a like occasion.[u] For a sort of heretics were start up, who affirmed, that at death both body and soul did expire together, and were resolved into the same state of corruption, and that at the resurrection they should revive and rise together to eternal life. For this purpose a general synod of those parts was called, and Origen desired to be present at it; who managed the cause with such weighty arguments, such unanswerable and clear convictions, that the ad-

[s] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 36.
[t] Rod. Wetsteinius Præfat. in Orig. Dial. contr. Marc. etc. à se edit. Basil. 1674.
[u] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 37.

verse party threw down their weapons, and relinquished the sentiments which they maintained before. Another heretical crew appeared at this time in the East, the impious and abominable sect of the Helcesaitæ, against whom also Origen seems to have been engaged, concerning whom himself gives us this account.[x] They rejected a great part both of the old and new canon, making use only of some few parts of scripture, and such without question as they could make look most favourably upon their cause. St. Paul they wholly rejected, and held, that it was lawful and indifferent to deny the faith; and that he was the wise man, that in his words would renounce Christianity in a time of danger and persecution, but maintain the truth in his heart. They carried a book about with them which they affirmed to have been immediately dropped down from heaven, which whoever received or gave credit to, should receive remission of sins, though different from that pardon which our Lord Jesus bestowed upon his followers. But how far Origen was concerned against this absurd and senseless generation, is to me unknown. The best on it is, this sect, like a blazing comet, though its influence was malignant and pestilential, suddenly arose, and as suddenly disappeared.

XXII. Philip the emperor, being slain by the soldiers, Decius made a shift, by the help of the army, to step into the throne; a mortal enemy to the church,[y] in whose short reign more martyrs, especially men of note and eminency, came to the stake, than in those who governed that empire ten times his reign. In Palestine, Alexander the aged and venerable bishop of Jerusalem was thrown into prison, where, after long and hard usage, and an illustrious confession of the Christian faith before the public tribunal, he died. This Alexander (whom we have often mentioned) had been first bishop in Cappadocia,[z] where, out of a religious curiosity, he had resolved upon a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to visit the holy and venerable antiquities of that place; whereto he was particularly excited by a divine revelation, intimating to him that it was the will of God that he should be assistant to the bishop of that place. It happened at this time, that Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, being some years since returned to his see, (which he had deserted many years before,) was

x **Homil.** in Psal. lxxxii. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 38.

y **Euseb.** Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 39.

z Id. ibid. c. 11.

become incapable, through his great age and infirmity, (being 116 years old,) duly to manage that place. Alexander approaching near Jerusalem, they were warned by a vision and a voice from heaven, to go out of the city, and there receive him whom heaven had designed to be their bishop. They did so, and finding Alexander, entertained and introduced him, with all possible kindness and respect; where by the importunity of the people, and the consent of all the neighbour bishops, he was constrained to become colleague with Narcissus in the government of that church. This, I suppose, is the first express instance that we meet with in church-antiquity of two bishops sitting at once (and that by consent) in one see. But the case was warranted by an extraordinary authority; besides that, Narcissus seems rather to have resigned and quitted the place, retaining nothing but the title, nor intermeddling any further, than by joining in prayers and devotions for the good of the church, surviving not above three or four years at most. Alexander succeeding in the sole presidency, governed his church with singular prudence and fidelity; and among other memorable acts, erected a library at Jerusalem,[a] which he especially stored with ecclesiastical epistles and records, from whence Eusebius confesses he furnished himself with many considerable memoirs and materials for the composing of his history. He sat bishop thirty-nine years; and after several arraignments, and various imprisonments and sufferings, died now in prison at Cæsarea, to the unconceivable loss and resentment of the whole church, and especially of Origen, who had been ordained by him, and whom he had ever found a fast friend and patron. Nor did Origen himself, who was at this time at Tyre, escape without his share. Eusebius does but briefly intimate his sufferings, having given a larger account of them in another book, long since lost; he tells us that the Devil mustered up all his forces against him,[b] and assaulted him with with all his arts and engines, singling him out above all others of that time, to make him the object of his utmost rage and fury. He was cast into the bottom of a loathsome and uncomfortable dungeon, loaded with irons, a chain about his neck, his feet set in the stocks, with his legs stretched four holes distant from each other many days together; he was threatened with fire, and tried with all the torments that a merciless enemy could

[a] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 20. [b] Id. ibid. c. 39.

inflict: which, meeting with a person of his age, and a body broken with such and so many cares and labours, must needs render it a very heavy burden. And yet he bore all with a generous patience, and was ready to submit to the last fatal stroke, but that the judge, to give all possible accents to his misery, ordered them so to torment him, that they should not kill him.

XXIII. Human councils and resolutions, when most active and violent, yet "he that is higher than the highest" can overrule them, and "there be that are higher than they." His enemies had hitherto exercised him only with preparatory cruelties, reserving him for a more solemn execution. But God, "to whom belongs the issues from death," prevented their malice, and made way for him to escape, which in all probability was effected by the death of Decius, who was cut off, when he had reigned two years and a half. Being delivered out of prison, he improved his time to pious purposes,[c] comforting the weak and the disconsolate, and writing letters to that end up and down the world. Some few years he out-lived the Decian persecution, and died at Tyre, about the first year of Valerian. Indeed, Eusebius intimates that he departed this life about the beginning of Gallus's reign. But I cannot see how that can stand: for seeing elsewhere, he positively affirms that he was seventeen years old at the time of his father's martyrdom, anno 202, his death must happen the *first of* Valerian, Ann. Chr. 254, which falls in with the sixty-ninth year of his age, in which Eusebius tells us he left this *world*. Otherwise he could not be more than sixty-seven years old; whereas none make him less than sixty-nine. Pamphilus the martyr,[d] and some others, from the relation of those that had seen him, report that an honourable martyrdom put a period to his life, when Decius raised the persecution at Cæsarea. But besides that Epiphanius expressly denies that he died a martyr,[e] others (as Photius adds, and among them Eusebius[f] and St. Hierom[g]) tell us, that he continued till the time of Gallus and Volusian, and being sixty-nine years old died, and was buried at Tyre: which, as he observes, must needs be so, seeing he wrote many epistles after the Decian persecution. And probable it is, that Pamphilus *meant it*, or at least his mistake thence arose, of that great and

[c] Id. ibid. [d] Apud Phot. Cod. CXVIII. [e] De pond. et mensur. n. 18.
[f] Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 1. [g] De script. in Origen.

glorious confession, a preparatory martyrdom, which he made under the reign of Decius, which he survived two or three years, peaceably ending his days at Tyre, where his body found a place of rest, and where, in a great church dedicated to the memory of our Saviour's sepulchre, behind the high altar, his remains were laid up, as the tradition of the last age informs us.[h] Nay, long before that, Brocard the monk tells us that when he was there,[i] he saw his tomb, and read his epitaph; and before both, William,[k] who was himself archbishop of Tyre, reckons Origen's tomb among the monuments and venerable antiquities of that city, his marble monument being adorned with gold and precious stones.

XXIV. Having brought this great man to his grave, let us a little look back upon him, and we shall find him a more than ordinary person. His life was truly strict and philosophical,[l] and an admirable instance of discipline and virtue; such as his discourses were, such were his manners, and his life the image of his mind: that wise and good man, whom he was wont to describe in his lectures to his scholars, (as one of the most eminent of them assure us,[m]) he himself had first formed, and drawn in the example of his own life. He had a mighty regard to the glory of God, and the good of souls, whose happiness he studied by all ways to promote, and thought nothing hard, nothing mean or servile, that might advance it. He was modest and humble, chaste and temperate: so exemplary his abstinence and sobriety, that he lived upon what was next door to nothing; for many years abstaining from wine,[n] and every thing but what was absolutely necessary for the support of life, till by too much abstinence he had almost ruined his health, and endangered the weakening of nature past recovery. Singular his contempt of the world, literally making good that precept of our Lord to his disciples, not to have "two cloaks," to provide "no shoes," nor to be anxiously careful for to-morrow. When many, out of consideration of his unwearied diligence, would have communicated

[h] Cotovic. itiner. l. i. c. 19.

[i] Descript. Terr. Sanct. c. 2.

[k] Guiliel. Tyr. H. sacr. l. xiii. non longe ab init. vid. etiam Adricom. Theatr. Terr. S. in Trib. Aser. n. 84. in fin.

[l] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 3.

[m] Greg. Neocæs. Orat. Panegyr. in Orig. p 67.

[n] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 3.

part of what they had towards his necessities, he would not, but, rather than be needlessly burdensome to any, sold his library, agreeing with the buyer to allow him four *oboli*, or five pence, for his daily maintenance. His diligence in study, in preaching, writing, travelling, confuting heathens and heretics, composing schisms and differences in the church, was indefatigable; upon which account the titles of Adamantius and Chalcenterus are supposed by the ancients to have been given to him, nothing but an industry of brass and iron being able to hold out under such infinite labours. The day he spent part in fasting, part in other religious exercises and employments; the night he bestowed upon the study of the scripture, reserving some little portion for sleep and rest, which he usually took, not in bed, but upon the bare ground. This admirably exercised and advanced his patience, which he improved by further austerities; fasting, and enduring cold and nakedness, studying standing, and for many years together going barefoot; remitting nothing of his rigours and hardships, notwithstanding all the counsels and persuasions of his friends, who were troubled at the excessive severities of his life: whereby, notwithstanding he gained upon men, and converted many of the Gentile philosophers, famous for learning and philosophy, not only to the admiration but imitation of himself.

XXV. View him in his natural parts and acquired abilities, and he had a quick piercing apprehension, a strong and faithful memory, an acute judgment, a ready utterance: all which were adorned and accomplished with a prodigious furniture of learning, and all the improvements which Rome or Greece could afford; being incomparably skilled (as St. Hierom[o] and Suidas[p] observe) both in Gentile and Christian learning, logic, geometry, arithmetic, music, philosophy, rhetoric, and the several sentiments and opinions of all the sects of philosophy, and who always entertained his auditors with something above common observation. So great the force and acuteness of his parts, (says Vincentius Lerinensis,[q]) so profound, quick, and elegant, that none could come near him: so vast his stock of all sorts of learning, that there were few corners of divine, and perhaps none of human philosophy, which he had not accurately searched into; and when the Greeks could lead him no further, with an un-

[o] De script. in Orig. [p] In Orig. [q] Contr. Hæres. c. 23.

paralleled industry he conquered the language and learning of the Jews. But no other character need be given him than what Porphyry,[r] who knew him, (though a learned man,[s] who from that passage in Eusebius makes him to have been his scholar, proceeds doubtless upon a great mistake,) and was an enemy, bestows upon him, that he was held in very great esteem in those times, and had purchased a more than ordinary glory and renown from the greatest masters which Christianity then had in the world, and that under the discipline of Ammonius he attained to an admirable skill in learning and philosophy. The monuments and evidences whereof (as he there observes) were the books and writings which he left behind him, considerable not for their subjects only, but their multitude, arising to that vast number, that Epiphanius tells us,[t] it was commonly reported that he wrote six thousand volumes: the greatest part of which being understood of epistles, and single homilies, the account will not be above belief, nor give any just foundation for Rufinus and St. Hierom to wrangle so much about it, the latter of whom point-blank denies, that ever himself read, or that Origen himself wrote so many. Vincentius affirms,[u] that no man ever wrote so much as he, and that all his books could not only not be read, but not so much as be found out by any. So that it was not without reason that antiquity fastened the title of Syntacticus, or the Composer, upon him, his innumerable discourses upon all sorts of subjects justly appropriating that title to him. His books were of old enumerated by many, and digested into their proper classes, whether scholia, short strictures upon obscure difficult places, homilies and tomes, as the ancients divided them; or *exegetica* and *syntagmata*, under which rank some modern writers comprehend them; the greatest part whereof, though they have long since perished through the carelessness and ill will of succeeding times, yet does a very large portion of them still remain. His phrase and way of writing is clear and unaffected, fluent and copious. Erasmus[v] gives a high encomium of it, preferring it before most other writers of the church, that it is neither turgid and lofty, like that of St. Hilary, flying above the reach of ordinary readers; nor set off with

[r] Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 19. [s] L. Holsten. de vit. et script. Porphyr. c. 6.
[t] Hæres. lxiv. s. 63. vid. Rufin. Apol. pro Orig. inter Opp. Hier. vol. v. p. 254.
[u] Contr. Hæres. c. 23. [v] Censur. de Oper. Orig.

gaudy and far-fetched ornaments, like that of St. Hierom; nor abounding with flowers of rhetoric, and smart witty sentences, like that of St. Ambrose; nor over-seasoned with tart and satirical reflections, and obscured with obsolete and antiquated terms, as that of Tertullian; not superstitious in the curious and accurate structure of its several parts, like that of St. Gregory; nor running out into large digressions, nor affecting a chiming cadency of words, like that of St. Augustine; but always brisk and lively, easy and natural. But when he commends it for its conciseness and brevity, he certainly forgot himself, or mistook; (and what wonder he should, when it is like he took his measures not so much from the original as translations.) For his style, though it be generally plain and perspicuous, yet it is diffusive and luxuriant, flowing with plenty of words, which might be often spared, and therefore charged by some of his critical adversaries that he did *infinita verba multiplicare*,[x] "multiply an infinite crowd of words:" and that κουφολογίᾳ περιηχήσας ἀπειροπληθεῖ τὸν κόσμον,[y] "he filled the world with a company of needless and idle words," which he unmeasurably poured out, and that he did φλυαρίᾳ πολλῇ ταυτολογεῖν, "exceedingly trifle with vain tautologies and repetitions:" a censure wherein envy and emulation must be supposed to have had the predominant and overruling stroke. For though abounding with words, he was always allowed to be eloquent, for which Vincentius highly commends him,[z] affirming his phrase to be so sweet, pleasant, and delightful, that there seemed to him to have dropped not words so much as honey from his mouth.

XXVI. But that, alas, which has cast clouds and darkness upon all his glory, and buried so much of his fame in ignominy and reproach, is the dangerous and unsound doctrines and principles which are scattered up and down his writings, for which almost all ages, without any reverence to his parts, learning, piety, and the judgment of the wisest and best of the times he lived in, have without any mercy pronounced him heretic, and his sentiments and speculations rash, absurd, pernicious, blasphemous, and indeed what not. The alarm began of old, and

[x] Epiph. Ep. ad Joan. Hierosol. ap. Hieron. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 824.

[y] Eustath. Antioch. dissert. de Engastrym. adv. Orig. inter. Crit. S. vol. viii. p. 441. 453.

[z] Contr. Hæres. c. 23.

was pursued with a mighty clamour and fierceness, especially by Methodius bishop of Olympus, Eustathius of Antioch, Apollinaris, Theophilus of Alexandria, and Epiphanius; and the cry carried on with a loud noise in after-ages, insomuch that the very mention of his name is in the Greek church abominable at this day. I had once resolved to have considered the chief of those notions and principles for which Origen is so heavily charged by the ancients, but superseded that labour, when I found that the industry of the learned Monsieur Huet, in his Origeniana, had left no room for any to come after him, so fully, so clearly, so impartially, with such infinite variety of reading has he discussed and canvassed this matter, and thither I remit the learned and capable reader. And for those that cannot or will not be at the pains to read his large and excellent discourses, they may consult nearer hand the ingenious author of the "Letter of Resolution concerning Origen, and the chief of his opinions;"[a] where they will find the most obnoxious of his *dogmata* reckoned up, and the apologies and defences which a sincere lover of Origen might be supposed to make in his behalf, and these pleas represented with all the advantages with which wit, reason, and eloquence could set them off.

XXVII. Nor wanted there of old those who stood up to plead and defend his cause, especially Pamphilus the martyr, and Eusebius, who published an Apology in six books in his behalf; the first five whereof were written by Pamphilus with Eusebius's assistance, while they were in prison, the last finished and added by Eusebius after the other's martyrdom. Besides which, Photius tells us[b] there were many other famous men in those times, who wrote apologies for him; he gives us a particular account of one,[c] though without a name, where in five books the author endeavours to justify Origen as sound and orthodox, and cites Dionysius, Demetrius, and Clemens, all of Alexandria, and several others, to give in evidence for him. The main of these apologies are perished long ago, otherwise, probably, Origen's cause might appear with a better face, seeing we have now nothing but his notions dressed up and glossed by his professed enemies, and many things ascribed to him which he never owned, but were coined by his pretended followers. For my own part, I shall only note from the ancients some general

[a] Edit. Lond. 1661. [b] Cod. CXVIII. Cod. CXVII.

remarks, which may be pleaded in abatement of the rigour and severity of the sentence usually passed upon him. And first, many things were said and written by him, not positively and dogmatically, but γυμνασίας χάριν, says the author of his apology in Photius,[d] "by way of exercitation;" and this he himself was wont to plead at every turn, and to beg the reader's pardon, and profess that he propounded these things not as doctrines, but as disputable problems, and with a design to search and find out the truth, as Pamphilus assures us,[e] and St. Hierom himself cannot but confess:[f] and if we had the testimony of neither, there is enough to this purpose in his books still extant, to put it beyond all just exception. Thus discoursing concerning the union of the two natures in the person of our blessed Saviour, he affirms it to be a mystery which no created understanding can sufficiently explain;[g] concerning which, (says he,) not from any rashness of ours, but only as the order of discourse requires, we shall briefly speak rather what our faith contains, than what human reason is wont to assert, producing rather our own conjectures, than any plain and peremptory affirmations. And to the same purpose he expresses himself at every turn. Not to say that he wrote many things in the heat of disputation, which, it may be, his cooler and more considering thoughts would have set right. So the apologist in Photius pleads,[h] that whatever he said amiss in the doctrine of the Trinity, proceeded merely from a vehement opposition of Sabellius, who confounded the number and difference of persons, and whose sect was one of the most prevailing heresies of that time: the confutation whereof made him attempt a greater difference and distinction in the persons, than the rules of faith did strictly allow. Secondly, those books of his,[i] wherein he betrays the most unsound and unwarrantable notions, were written privately, and with no intention of being made public, but as secrets communicable among friends, and not as doctrines to disturb the church. And this he freely acknowledged in his letter to Fabian bishop of Rome,[k] and cast the blame upon his friend Ambrosius, *quod secreto edita in publicum protulerit*, that he had published those things which he

[d] Cod. CXVII. [e] Apolog. ap. Hieron. vol. v. p. 221.
[f] Epist. xciv. ad Avit. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 763. [g] Περὶ ἀρχ. l. ii. c. 6.
[h] Cod. CXVII. [i] Pamph. Apol. ap. Hier. vol. v. p. 223. 227.
[k] Ap. Hieron. in. Epist. xli. ad Pammach. de err. Orig. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 347.

meant should go no further than the breasts or hands of his dearest friends. And there is always allowed a greater freedom and latitude in debating things among friends, the secrets whereof ought not to be divulged, nor the public made judges of that innocent liberty which is taken within men's private walls. Thirdly, the disallowed opinions that he maintains, are many of them such as were not the catholic and determined doctrines of the church, not defined by synods, nor disputed by divines; but either philosophical, or speculations which had not been thought on before, and which he himself at every turn cautiously distinguishes from those propositions which were entertained by the common and current consent and approbation of the Christian church. Sure I am he lays it down as a fundamental maxim, in the very entrance upon that book,[l] wherein his most dangerous assertions are contained, that those ecclesiastic doctrines are to be preserved, which had been successively delivered from the apostles, and were then received, and that nothing was to be embraced for truth that any ways differed from the tradition of the church.

XXVIII. Fourthly, divers of Origen's works have been corrupted and interpolated by evil hands, and heretics, to add a lustre and authority to their opinions by the veneration of so great a name, have inserted their own assertions, or altered his, and made him speak their language: an argument which, however laughed at by St. Hierom,[m] is yet stiffly maintained by Rufinus,[n] who shews this to have been an old and common art of heretics, and that they dealt thus with the writings of Clemens Romanus, of Clemens and Dionysius of Alexandria, of Athanasius, Hilary, Cyprian, and many more. Dionysius, the famous bishop of Corinth,[o] who lived many years before Origen, assures us he was served at this rate; that at the request of the brethren he had written several epistles, but that the apostles and emissaries of the Devil had filled them with weeds and tares, expunging some things, and adding others. The apologist in Photius tells us,[p] Origen himself complained of this in his lifetime; and so indeed he does in his letter to them of Alex-

[l] Præf. ad lib. Περὶ ἀρχ. s. 2.

[m] Epist. xli. ad Pammach. ubi supr.

[n] Apol. pro Orig. apud Hier. vol. v. p. 249, 250, etc. et Præf. ad lib. Περὶ ἀρχ. ibid. p. 254.

[o] Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 23.

[p] Cod. CXVII.

andria,[q] where he smartly resents that a charge of blasphemy had been ascribed to him and his doctrine, of which he was never guilty, and that it was less wonder if his doctrine was adulterated, when the great St. Paul could not escape their hands; he tells them of an eminent heretic, that having taken a copy of a dispute which he had had with him, did afterwards cut off and add what he pleased, and change it into another thing, carrying it about with him, and glorying in it. And when some friends in Palestine sent it to him, then at Athens, he returned them a true and authentic copy of it. And the same foul play he lets them know he had met with in other places, as at Ephesus and at Antioch, as he there particularly relates. And if they durst do this while he was yet alive, and able (as he did) to right himself, what may we think they would do after his death, when there were none to control them? And upon this account most of those assertions must especially be discharged, wherein Origen is made to contradict himself, it being highly improbable (as Rufinus well urges[r]) that so prudent and learned a person, one far enough from being either fool or madman, should write things so contrary and repugnant to one another: and that not only in divers, but in one and the same book.

XXIX. I might further observe his constant zeal against heretics; his opposing and refuting of them wherever he came, both by word and writing; his being sent for into foreign countries to convince gainsayers; his professing to abominate all heretical doctrines; and his refusing so much as to communicate in prayer with Paul, the heretic of Antioch, though his whole maintenance did depend upon it. And, methinks, it deserves to be considered, that Athanasius, in all the heat of the Arian controversies, (than whom certainly none was ever more diligent to search out heretical persons and opinions, or more accurate in examining and refuting the chief of those doctrines that are laid at Origen's door,) should never charge him upon that account. Nay, he particularly quotes him,[s] to prove our Lord's co-eternity and co-essentiality with the Father, exactly according to the decisions of the Nicene synod, dismissing him with the honourable character of *θαυμαστὸς καὶ φιλοπονώτατος*, "the most ad-

[q] Apol. Rufin. pro Orig. ap. Hier. vol. v. p. 251. [r] Ibid. p. 249.

[s] Athanas. de Decret. Synod. Nic. s. 27. Vid. Quæst. lxxii. ad Antioch. vol. ii. p. 284. inter Spuria. et Socr. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 13.

mirable, and infinitely industrious person." Nor is there any heterodox opinion of his, that I know of, once taken notice of in all his works, but only that concerning the duration of future torments, and that too but obliquely mentioned.[t] Whence I am apt to conclude, either that Origen's writings were not then so notoriously guilty, or that this great man, and zealous defender of the church's doctrine, (who, being bishop of Alexandria, could not be ignorant of what Origen had taught or written, nay, assures us he had read his books,) did not look upon those dangerous things that were in them, as his sense. And indeed, so he says expressly; that what things he wrote by way of controversy and disputation, are not to be looked upon as his own words and sentiments, but as those of his contentious adversaries whom he had to deal with, which accordingly, in the passages he cites, he carefully distinguishes from Origen's own words and sense. To all which I may add, that when the controversy about the condemnation of his books was driven on most furiously by Theophilus and Epiphanius,[u] Theotimus, the good Scythian bishop, plainly told Epiphanius, that for his part he would never so much dishonour a person so venerable for his piety and antiquity, nor durst he condemn what their ancestors never rejected, especially when there were no ill and mischievous doctrines in Origen's works; therewithal pulling out a book of Origen's, which he read before the whole convention, and shewed it to contain expositions agreeable to the articles of the church. With these two excellent persons let me join the judgment of a writer of the middle ages of the church, Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt,[x] who speaking of the things laid to Origen's charge: "For my part, (says he,) saving the faith of the ancients, I affirm of him, either that he never wrote these things, but that they were wickedly forged by heretics, and fathered upon his name; or if he did write them, he wrote them not as his own judgment, but as the opinion of others. And if, as some would have it, they were his own sentiments, we ought rather to deal compassionately with so learned a man, who has conveyed so vast a treasury of learning to us. What faults there are in his writings, those orthodox and useful things which they contain are abundantly sufficient to over-balance."

[t] Athanas. de Com. essent. Patr. Fil. et S. S. s. 49.

[u] Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 12.

[x] Breviar. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 3.

XXX. This, and a great deal more, is and may be pleaded in Origen's defence. And yet after all it must be confessed, that he was guilty of great mistakes, and rash propositions, which the largest charity cannot excuse. He had a natural warmth and fervour of mind, a comprehensive wit, an insatiable thirst after knowledge, and a desire to understand the most abstruse and mysterious speculations of theology, which made him give himself an unbounded liberty in inquiring into, and discoursing of the nature of things; he wrote much, and dictated apace, and was engaged in infinite variety of business, which seldom gave him leisure to review and correct his writings, and to let them pass the censure of second and maturer thoughts; he traded greatly in the writings of the heathens, and was infinitely solicitous to make the doctrines of Christianity look as little unlike as might be to their best and beloved notions. And certainly, what Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra,[y] long since objected against him, is unquestionably true, (notwithstanding what Eusebius has said to salve it,) that coming fresh out of the philosophic schools, and having been a long time accurately trained up in the principles and books of Plato, he applied himself to divine things, before he was sufficiently disposed to receive them, and fell upon writing concerning them, while secular learning had yet the predominancy in his mind, and so unwarily mingled philosophic notions with Christian principles, further than the analogy of the Christian faith would allow. And I doubt not but whoever would parallel his and the Platonic principles, would find that most of the κυρίαι δόξαι he is charged with, his master-notions, were brought out of the schools of Plato, as the above-mentioned Huetius has in many things particularly observed. St. Hierom himself (whom the torrent of that time made a severe enemy to Origen) could but have so much tenderness for him, even in that very tract wherein he passes the deepest censures upon him,[z] after he had commended him for his parts, zeal, and strictness of life; "Which of us (says he) is able to read so much as he has written? who would not admire the ardent and sprightly temper of his mind towards the holy scriptures? But if any envious zealot shall object his errors to us, let him freely hear what was said of old:

[y] Ap. Euseb. contr. Marcell. l. i. c. 4. p. 23.

[z] Epist. xli. ad Pammach. de err. Orig. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 346.

'——Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.
Verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum.'

'In a long work each slip the censor's rod
Does not deserve. Homer does sometimes nod.'[a]

Let us not imitate his faults, whose virtues we cannot reach. Others, both Greeks and Latins, have erred in the faith as well as he, whom it is not necessary to name, lest we might seem to defend him, not by his own merit, but by the mistakes of other men." To all that has been hitherto said, I may add this, that suppose him guilty of as pestilent and dangerous errors as the worst of his enemies lay to his charge, yet he afterwards repented of what he had rashly and unadvisedly written, as appears by his epistle to Fabian, bishop of Rome.[b] And is it not intolerable rudeness and incivility at least, perpetually to upbraid and reproach a man with the faults of his past life, and which he himself has disowned? Sorrow for what is past in some measure repairs the breach, and repentance must be allowed next door to innocence.

[a] Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 359, 360.

[b] Ap. Hier. vol. iv. par. ii. vid. Rufin. Invect. i. p. 349. in Hieron. inter opp. Hier. vol. v. p. 282. Primus felicitatis gradus est, non delinquere: secundus, delicta cognoscere. Illic currit innocentia integra et illibata quæ servet, hic succedit medela quæ sanet. Cypr. Ep. lix. ad Cornel. p. 135.

His writings mentioned by the ancients, and which of them extant at this day.

Homiliarum mysticarum in Genes. libri duo.
Commentar. in Genes. libri 13.
Extant Latine Homiliæ 17.
Commentar. Tomi in Exodum.
Extant Latine Homiliæ 12.
Scholia in Leviticum.
Extant Homiliæ 16.
In Numeros extant Latine Homiliæ 28.
In Deuteronomium Homiliæ.
In Libr. Jesu Nave extant Homiliæ 26, Latine.
In Libr. Judicum extant Homiliæ 9, Latine.
In 1 Lib. Regum Homiliæ quatuor.
In Lib. 2 extat Homilia una.
In Lib. Paralipom. Homilia una.
In duos Esdræ Libros Homiliæ.
In Libr. Job Tractatus.
In Psalmos { Commentarii. Homiliæ. Scholia.
Extant Latine in Psalm xxxvi. Homiliæ quinque; in Psalm xxxvii. Homiliæ duæ; in Psalm xxxviii. Homiliæ duæ.
In Proverbia Salom. Commentar.
Explicatio Ecclesiastia.
In Canticum Cantic. Commentarii.
Extant Latine Homiliæ duæ.
In Esaiam { Commentar. libri 30. Homiliæ 25. Scholia.
Extant Latine Homiliæ 9.
In Jeremiam Homiliæ 45.
Extant Gr. Lat. Homiliæ 17.
In Threnos tomi 9.
In Ezechielem tomi 25.
Extant Latine Homiliæ 14.
In Danielem Expositio.
In 12 Prophetas tomi 25.

In Matthæum { Comment. libri 25. / Homiliæ 25. / Scholia.
Extant Gr. Lat. tomi septem.
In Lucam Commentar. tomi quinque.
Extant Latine Homiliæ 39.
In Joannem Commentar. tomi 32.
Extant Gr. Lat. tomi 9.
In Acta Apostolorum Homiliæ aliquot.
In Epistolam ad Romanos Explanationum libri 20.
Extant Latine libri decem.
In 1 ad Corinthios Commentarii.
In Epist. ad Galatas { Commentarii. / Homiliæ. / Scholia.
In Epist. ad Ephes. Comment. libri tres.
In Epist. ad Coloss. Commentarii.
In 1 ad Thess. voll. (ut minimum) tria.
In Epist. ad Titum.
In Epist. ad Hebræos. { Commentarii. / Homiliæ.
Tetrapla. Hexapla. Octapla.
Commentarii in Veteres Philosophos.
De Resurrectione libri duo.
De Resurrectione Dialogi.
Stromateων libri decem.
Disputationes cum Beryllo.
Περὶ ἀρχῶν, seu de Principiis libri quatuor; Extant Latine.
Contra Celsum libri octo, extant Gr. Lat.
De Martyrio. Extant Gr. Lat.
Homil. de Engastrimytho. Extant Gr. Lat.
De Oratione. Extant Gr. MS.
Philocalia de aliquot præcipuis Theologiæ locis et quæstionibus ex Origenis scriptis à S. Basilio et Gregor. Naz. excerptis, cap. 27. extant Gr. Lat.

Epistolæ fere infinitæ: *ex his hodie extant,*
Epistola ad Jul. Africanum de Histor. Susannæ, Gr. Lat.
Epistola ad Gregorium Thaumaturgum. Extant Gr. Lat. in Philocalia.

Doubtful.

Dialogus contra Marcionitas, de recta in Deum fide. Extant. Gr. Lat.

Supposititious.

In Libri Job Tract. tres et Comment. in eundem.
Commentarius in Evangel. S. Marci.
Homiliæ in diversos.
De Philosophorum Sectis et dogmatibus.
Lamentum Origenis.
Scholia in Orationem Dominicam, et in Cantica B. Virginis, Zachariæ, et Simeonis.

THE LIFE OF SAINT BABYLAS,

BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.

His originals obscure. His education and accomplishments inquired into. Made bishop of Antioch, when. Antioch taken by the king of Persia. Recovered by the Roman emperor. Babylas's fidelity in his charge. The Decian persecution, and the grounds of it: severely urged by the emperor's edicts. Decius's coming to Antioch. His attempt to break into the Christian congregation. Babylas's bold resistance. This applied to Numerianus, and the ground of the mistake. The like reported of Philip the emperor. Decius's bloody act related by St. Chrysostom. His rage against Babylas, and his examination of him. The martyr's resolute answer. His imprisonment and hard usage. The different accounts concerning his death. Three youths, his fellow-sufferers, in vain attempted by the emperor. Their martyrdom first, and why. Babylas beheaded. His command that his chains should be buried with him. The translation of his body under Constantius. The great sweetness and pleasantness of the Daphne. Apollo's temple there. St. Babylas's bones translated thither by Gallus Cæsar. The oracle immediately rendered dumb. In vain consulted by Julian. The confession of the Demon. Julian's command for removing Babylas's bones. The martyr's remains triumphantly carried into the city. The credit of this story sufficiently attested. The thing owned by Libanius and Julian. Why such honour suffered to be done to the martyr. Julian afraid of an immediate vengeance. His persecution against the Christians at Antioch. The sufferings of Theodorus. The temple of Apollo fired from heaven.

So great and general is the silence of church-antiquity, in the Acts of this holy martyr, especially the former part of his life, that I should wholly pass him over, did not his latter times furnish us with some few memorable passages concerning him. His country, parents, education, and way of life, are all unknown, as also, whether he was born and bred a Gentile, or a Christian. No doubt he was trained up under the advantages of a liberal and ingenuous education, living in places that opportunely ministered unto it, and in times, when none but men of known parts and eminency, both for learning and piety, were advanced to the government of the church: and when great measures of arts and learning were not only commendable, but necessary,

both to feed and preserve the flock of God, to resist and convince gainsayers, and to defend Christianity against the attempts both of secret and open enemies. For as the Christian church never wanted professed adversaries from without, who endeavoured, both by sword and pen, to stifle and suppress its growth, nor pretended friends from within, who by schisms and heresies, disturbed its peace, and tore out its very bowels; so never were these more predominant than in those times and parts of the world wherein this good man lived.

II. Ann. Chr. 239, Gordian. Imp. 1, died Zebinus bishop of Antioch,[a] in whose room Babylas succeeded. He was a stout and prudent pilot, who (as St. Chrysostom says of him [b]) guided the holy vessel of that church in the midst of storms and tempests, and the many waves that beat upon it. Indeed, in the beginning of his presidency over that church, he met not with much trouble from the Roman powers, the old enemies of Christianity, but a fierce storm blew from another quarter: for Sapor, king of Persia,[c] had lately invaded the Roman empire, and having overrun all Syria, had besieged and taken Antioch, and so great a dread did his conquests strike into all parts, that the terror of them flew into Italy, and startled them even at Rome itself. He grievously oppressed the people of Antioch, and what treatment the Christians there must needs find, under so merciless and insolent an enemy, (at no time favourable to Christians,) is no hard matter to imagine. But it was not long before God broke this yoke from off their necks. For Gordian the emperor, raising a mighty army, marched into the East, and having cleared the countries as he went along, came into Syria, and went directly for Antioch, where he totally routed the Persian army, recovered Antioch and the conquered cities, and gained some considerable places belonging to Sapor, whom he forced to retire back into his own country: of all which he gives an account in a letter to the senate,[d] who joyfully received the news, and decreed him a triumph at his return to Rome.

III. The church of Antioch being thus restored to its former tranquillity, Babylas attended his charge with all diligence and fidelity, instructing, feeding, and governing his flock, preparing both young and old to undergo the hardest things which their

[a] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 29.
[b] Hom. de S. Babyl. s. 1. vol. ii. p. 531.
[c] Capitol. in Gordian. iii. c. 26.
[d] Ibid. c. 27.

religion might expose them to, as if he had particularly foreseen that black and dismal persecution that was shortly to overtake them. Having quietly passed through the reign of Philip, (who was so far from creating any disturbance to the Christians, that he is generally, though groundlessly, supposed to have been a Christian himself,) he fell into the troublesome and stormy times of Decius, who was unexpectedly advanced, and in a manner forced upon the empire. One, whose character might have passed among none of the worst of princes, if he had not so indelibly stained his memory with his outrageous violence against the Christians: the main cause whereof the generality of writers, taking the hint from Eusebius,[e] make to have been hatred to his predecessor Philip, a Christian, as they account him, and whom he resolved to punish in his spleen and malice against them. But methinks much more probable is the account which Gregory Nyssen[f] gives of this matter, viz. the large spread and triumphant prevalency of the Christian faith, which had diffused itself over all parts, and planted every corner, and filled not cities only, but country villages; the temples were forsaken, and churches frequented, altars overthrown, and sacrifices turned out of doors. This vast increase of Christianity, and great declension of Paganism, awakened Decius to look about him: he was vexed to see the religion of the empire trodden under foot, and the worship of the gods every where slighted and neglected, opposed and undermined by a novel and upstart sect of Christians, which daily multiplied into greater numbers. This made him resolve with all possible force to check and control this growing sect, and to try by methods of cruelty to weary Christians out of their profession, and to reduce the people to the religion of their ancestors. Whereupon he issued out edicts to the governors of provinces, strictly commanding them to proceed with all severity against Christians, and to spare no manner of torments, unless they returned to the obedience and worship of the gods. Though I doubt not but this was the main-spring that set the rage and malice of their enemies on work, yet Cyprian,[g] like a man of great piety and modesty, seeks a cause nearer home, ingenuously confessing, that their own sins had set open the flood-gates for the divine displeasure to break in upon

[e] Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 39.
[f] De vit. Greg. Thaum. vol. iii. p. 567.
[g] Epist. xi. ad Presb. et Drac. p. 23.

them, while pride and self-seeking, schism and faction, reigned so much among them, the very martyrs themselves, who should have been a good example unto others, casting off the order and discipline of the church; and being swelled with so vain and immoderate a tumor, it was time God should send them a thorn in the flesh to cure it.

IV. The provincial governors, forward enough to run of themselves upon such an errand, made much more haste, when they were not only encouraged, but threatened into it by the imperial edicts, so that the persecution was carried on in all parts with a quick and a high hand, concerning the severity whereof we shall speak more elsewhere. At present it may suffice to remark, that it swept away many of the most eminent bishops of the church, Fabian bishop of Rome, Alexander bishop of Hierusalem, and several others. Nor was it long before it came to St. Babylas's door. For Decius, probably about the middle of his reign, or some time before his Thracian expedition, wherein he lost his life, came into Syria, and so to Antioch, to take order about his affairs that concerned the Persian war. I confess his coming into these parts is not mentioned in the Roman histories, and no wonder, the accounts of his life either not having been written by the Historiæ Angustæ Scriptores, or if they were, having long since perished, and few of his acts are taken notice of in those historians that yet remain. However, the thing is plainly enough owned by ecclesiastical writers. While he continued here,[h] either out of curiosity, or a design to take some more plausible advantage to fall upon them, he would needs go into the Christian congregation, when the public assembly was met together. This Babylas would by no means give way to, but standing in the church porch, with an undaunted courage and resolution opposed him, telling him, that, as much as lay in his power, he would never endure that a wolf should break in upon Christ's sheepfold. The emperor urged it no further at present, either being unwilling to exasperate the rage and fury of the people, or designing to effect it some other way. This passage there are, and Nicephorus among the rest, (with whom accord exactly the Menæa and Menologies of the Greek church,) that ascribe not to Decius, but Numerianus, (whom Suidas, his translator, corruptly

[h] Chrysost. lib. de S. Babyl. a. 6. vol. ii. p. 545. et passim. Philost. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 8. Suid. in voc. Βαβυλᾶς. Niceph. Hist. Eccl. l. x. c. 28.

styles Marianus,) who reigned at least thirty years after: a mistake, without any pillar or ground of truth to support it; there being at that time no Babylas bishop of Antioch, whom all agree to have suffered under the Decian persecution. And it is not improbable, what Baronius conjectures,[i] but the mistake might at first arise from this, that there was under Decius one Numerius, one of the generals of the army, a violent persecutor of the Christians, whom it is not to be doubted the first mistakers of the report confounded with Numerianus, and applied to him what belonged to the emperor under whom he served.

V. Eusebius relates a like passage to this, but attributes it to the emperor Philip,[k] Decius's predecessor, telling us, that when, on the Vigils of Easter, he would have gone with the rest of the Christians into the church, to be present at their prayers, the bishop of the place would by no means suffer him, unless he would make public confession of his sins, and pass through the order of the penitents, for that he had been guilty of many heinous and enormous crimes, which he readily submitted to. But besides that, this is laid as the main foundation of Philip's falsely supposed Christianity, Eusebius justifies it by no better authority than fame and mere report, and indeed stands alone in this matter. For though some of the ancients referred it to Numerian, yet none but he entitled Philip to it. St. Chrysostom, in a large encomiastic,[l] (wherein he describes this act of Babylas in all the colours wherein wit and eloquence could represent it, particularly equalling it with the spirit and freedom of Elias and John the Baptist,) tells us, that when the emperor made this attempt, he had newly washed his hands in innocent blood, having barbarously, and against the faith of his most solemn oath, and the laws of nations, put to death the little son of a certain king, whom his father had given in hostage to secure a peace made between them. This probably was either the son of some petty prince in those parts, who entered into a league with him while he was at Antioch, or some young prince of Persia, pawned as a pledge to ensure the peace between those two crowns, and whom he had no sooner received, but, either to gratify his cruelty, or else pretending some fraud in the articles, he inhumanly butchered. The author of the Alexan-

[i] Ad Ann. 253. n. 126. vid. S. Metaphr. in Martyr. S. Isidor. apud Sur. Feb. 5.
[k] Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 34. [l] Lib. de S. Babyl. a. 5. vol. ii. p. 543.

drine Chronicon[m] tells us, and vouches Leontius bishop of Antioch for the relation, that Phillip, (in the Greek is added ὁ Ἰουνίωρ, probably for ὁ Ἰούλιος, the sirname of that emperor, and not junior, the younger, as the translator renders it, and elsewhere corrects it by Πρεσβύτερος, the elder,) being governor of a province in the reign of Gordianus, Gordian had committed the care of his young son to him, whom after his father's death he slew, and usurped the empire: that being thus guilty of murder, though he was a Christian, yet St. Babylas would not admit him or his wife into the church; for which affront, offered to so great persons, and not merely because he was a Christian himself, Decius afterwards put St. Babylas to death: a strange medley of true and false, as indeed it is the custom of that author to confound times, things, and persons. However, most evident it is from Chrysostom, that it was the same emperor by whom this young prince was murdered, and St. Babylas put to death, which could be no other than Decius; who, with hands thus reeking in the blood of the innocent, would have irreverently rushed into the holy place of the Christian sanctuary, where none but pure hands were lift up to heaven.

VI. Decius, though for the present he dissembled his anger and went away,[n] yet inwardly resented the affront, and being returned to the palace, sent for Babylas, and having sharply expostulated with him for the boldness and insolency of the fact, commanded him to do sacrifice to the gods, assuring him that this was the only expedient to expiate his crime, divert his punishment, and to purchase him honour and renown. The martyr answered to all his inquiries with a generous confidence, despised his proffers, and defied his threats, told him, that as to the offence wherewith he charged him, he was obliged as a pastor readily to do whatever was conducive to the benefit of his flock; and for his command, he was resolved never to apostatize from the service of the true God and sacrifice to devils, and those who falsely usurped the name and honour of deities. The emperor finding his resolutions firm and inflexible, gave order that chains and fetters should be clapped upon him, with which he was sent to prison, where he endured many severe

[m] Olmyp. 257. 4. Decii 1. Indict. 14. p. 630. vid. ibid. p. 628.

[n] Philost. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 8. et Suid. in voc. Βαβυλᾶς.

hardships and sufferings,[o] but yet rejoiced in his bonds, and was more troubled at the misery that attended him that sent him thither, than at the weight of his own chains, or the sharpness of those torments that were heaped upon him. So naturally does Christianity teach us, "to bless them that curse us, to pray for them that despitefully use and persecute us," and "to overcome evil with good."

VII. There is some little difference in the accounts of the ancients, concerning the manner of his martyrdom. Eusebius[p] and some others make him, after a famous confession, to die in prison; while Chrysostom,[q] (whom I rather incline to believe in this matter, as more capable to know the traditions and examine the records of that church) and Suidas affirm, that, being bound, he was led forth out of prison to undergo his martyrdom, the one plainly intimating, the other positively expressing it, that he was beheaded. The fatal sentence being passed, as he was led to execution, he began his song of triumph, "Return unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with me." Together with him were led along three youths, brothers, (whose names, the Roman Martyrology tells us,[r] were Urbanus, Prilidianus, and Epolonius,) whom he had carefully instructed in the faith, and had trained up for so severe a trial. The emperor, not doubting to prevail upon their tender years, had taken them from their tutor, and treated them with all kinds of hardship and cruelty, as methods most apt to make impression upon weak and timorous minds. But perceiving them immovably determined not to sacrifice, he commanded them also to be beheaded. Being arrived at the place of execution, Babylas placed the children first, giving them the precedency of martyrdom, lest the spectacle of his bloody fate should relax their constancy, and make them desert their station. As the officer was taking off their heads, he cried aloud, "Behold, I and the children which the Lord hath given me;" and after that laid down his own neck upon the block, having first given order to his friends,[s] to whom he had committed the care of his body, that his chains and fetters should be buried in the same grave with him,

[o] Chrysost. lib. de S. Babyl. s. 10. vol. ii. p. 552. Martyr. Rom. ad Januar. 24.
[p] Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 39.
[q] Lib. de S. Babyl. s. 11. vol. ii. p. 554.
[r] Ad Jan. 24.
[s] Chrysost. Suid. Martyr. Rom. ubi supra.

that they might there remain as ensigns of honour, and the badges of his sufferings, and as evidences how much he accounted those things which seem most ignominious among men, to be for Christ's sake most splendid and honourable: imitating therein the great St. Paul, who took pleasure in bonds, chains, imprisonments, reproaches, professing to rejoice and glory in nothing so much as in his sufferings, and in the cross of Christ. Accordingly his chains were laid up with him in the grave, where Chrysostom assures us they remained in his time.

VIII. Where his body was first buried, we are not told; but wherever it was, there it rested till the reign of Constantius, when it had a more magnificent interment, which proved the occasion of one of the most remarkable occurrences that church-antiquity has conveyed to us. There was a place in the suburbs of Antioch called Daphne,[t] a place that seemed to be contrived by nature on purpose, as the highest scene of pleasure and delight. It was a delicate grove, thick-set with cypress and other trees, which, according to the season, afforded all manner of fruits and flowers: furnished it was with infinite variety of shady walks; the trees, joining their bushy heads, forbad the approaches of the sun to annoy and scorch them; watered with plenty of chrystal fountains and pleasant rivulets, the air cool and temperate, and the wind playing within the boughs of the trees, added a natural harmony and delightful murmur. It was the usual scene of the poets' amorous and wanton fancies, and indeed so great a temptation to intemperance and riot, that it was accounted scandalous for a good man to be seen there. But that which was the greatest glory of the place was a stately and magnificent temple, said to be erected there by Seleucus, father to Antiochus, who built Antioch, and by him dedicated to Apollo Daphnæus, who also had a very costly and ancient image placed within the temple, where oracles were given forth, which gave not the least addition to the renown and honour of it. And in this condition it remained, till Gallus, Julian's elder brother, being lately created Cæsar by his cousin Constantius, was sent to reside at Antioch, to secure those frontier parts of the empire against the incursions of the enemy. He, having a singular veneration for the memories of Christian martyrs, resolved to purge this place from its lewd customs and Pagan superstitions;

[t] Chrysost. de S. Babyl. s. 12. vol. iii. p. 556. Sozom. l. vi. c. 19. Niceph. l. x. c. 28.

which he thought he could not more effectually compass than by building a church over against Apollo's temple; which was no sooner finished and beautified, but he caused St. Babylas's coffin to be translated thither.

IX. The Devil, it seems, liked him not for so near a neighbour, his presence striking him dumb, so that henceforth, not one syllable of an oracle was given out. This silence was at first looked upon as the effect only of neglect,[u] that the sullen Demon would not answer, because he had not his usual tribute of sacrifices, incense, and other ritual honours paid to him; but was found afterwards to arise from the neighbourhood of St. Babylas's ashes, which caused their second removal upon this occasion. Julian having succeeded Constantius in the empire, came to Antioch, in order to his expedition into Persia, and being intolerably overgrown with superstition, presently went up to Apollo's temple, to consult the oracle about the success of the war,[x] and some other important affairs of the empire, offering the choicest sacrifices, and making very rich and costly presents. But, alas, all in vain; his prayers, and gifts, and sacrifices availed nothing, the Demon giving him to understand, that the dead kept him from speaking, and that till the place was cleared from the corpse that lay hard by, he could return no answers by the oracle. Julian quickly perceived his meaning; and though many dead bodies had been buried there, he suspected it was Babylas's remains that were particularly aimed at, and therefore commanded the Christians to remove them thence: who thereupon assembled in infinite numbers, persons of all ages and sexes, and laying the coffin upon an open chariot, brought it into the city, with the most solemn triumph, singing psalms of joy all the way they went; and at the end of every period, adding this tart stinging versicle, "Confounded be all they that worship carved images."

X. The reader, it is like, may be apt to scruple this story, as savouring a little of superstition, and giving too much honour to the relics of saints: to which I shall say no more, than that the credit of it seems unquestionable, it being reported not only

[u] Chrysost. de S. Babyl. s. 13. vol. iii. p. 557. et scriptores supra citat.

[x] Chrysost. Hom. de S. Babyl. s. 2. vol. iii. p. 533. et lib. de S. Babyl. s. 15. p. 560, etc. Sozom. Niceph. ubi supr. Socrat. l. iii. c. 18. Theodor. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 10. Conf. Philost. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 8.

by Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, (who all lived very near that time,) but by Chrysostom, who was born at Antioch, and was a long time presbyter of that church, and was scholar there to Libanius the Sophister, at that very time when the thing was done, and an eye-witness of it;[y] and who not only preached the thing, but wrote a discourse against the Gentiles, upon this very subject, wherein he appeals to the knowledge both of young and old then alive,[z] who had seen it, and challenges them to stand up and contradict, if they could, the truth of what he related. Nay, which further puts the case past all peradventure, Libanius the orator evidently confesses it,[a] when he tells us, that Apollo Daphnæus, though before neglected and forgotten, yet, when Julian came with sacrifices and oblations to kiss his foot, he appeared again in his rites of worship, after that he had been freed from the unwelcome neighbourhood of a certain dead man, who lay hard by, to his great trouble and disturbance. And Julian himself tells the Christians,[b] that he had sent back τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Δάφνης, "their dead man that had been buried in Daphne." Nor is it improbable that God should suffer such an extraordinary passage to happen, especially at this time, to demonstrate the vanity of the Gentile religion, to correct the infidelity of the emperor, and to give testimony to that religion, which he scorned with so much insolence and sarcasm, and pursued with so much vigour and opposition. If any inquire why Julian should so far gratify the Christians, as to bestow the martyr's bones upon them, and suffer them to convey them with so much pomp and honour into the city, and not rather scatter the ashes into the air, throw them into the fire, or drown the coffin in the river? Chrysostom answers,[c] that he durst not; he was afraid lest the divine vengeance should overtake him, lest a thunderbolt from heaven should strike him, or an incurable disease arrest him, as such kind of miserable fates had overtaken some of his predecessors, in the height of their activity against the Christians; and he had lately seen sad instances of it that came very near him: his uncle Julian, prefect of the East, a petulant scorner and apostate derider of Christians, who, having

y Vid. lib. citat. s. 4. p. 542. et Hom. de S. Babyl. s. 1. vol. iii. p. 531.
z Lib. de S. Babyl. s. 14. p. 560.
a Monod. sup. Apoll. fanum igni exust. vol. ii. p. 185.
b Misopog. p. 361. c Lib. de S. Babyl. s. 17. vol. iii. p. 563.

broken into the great church at Antioch, had treated their communion plate with the greatest irreverence and contempt, throwing it upon the ground, spurning, and sitting upon it, and, after all, carrying it away into the emperor's exchequer, was immediately seized with a loathsome disease, which I am not willing to mention, which within a few days, in spite of all the arts of physic, put an end to his miserable life: and Felix the treasurer, a man of the same spirit and temper, and engaged with him in the same design, coming up to the palace, on a sudden fell down upon the top of the steps and burst asunder; Ammianus Marcellinus himself confessing that he died of a sudden flux of blood.[d] Others there were, who about that time came to wretched and untimely ends, but these two only are particularly noted by Chrysostom: examples which, it is probable, had put an awe and restraint upon him.

XI. But "evil men wax worse and worse." Julian, however awed at present, yet his rage quickly found a vent, which all his philosophy could not stop. Vexed to see the Christians pay so solemn a veneration to the martyr,[e] and especially stung with the hymns which the Christians sung, the very next day he gave order, against the advice of his privy council, to Sallust the prefect, to persecute the Christians, many of whom were accordingly apprehended, and cast into prison. And among the rest, one Theodorus, a youth, was caught up in the streets, and put upon the rack, his flesh torn off with iron pincers, scourged and beaten; and when no tortures could shake his constancy, or so much as move his patience, he was at length dismissed. Rufinus afterwards met with this Theodorus, and asking him whether in the midst of his torments he felt any pain, he told him, at first he was a little sensible, but that one in the shape of a young man stood by him, who gently wiped off the sweat from his face, refreshed him with cold water, and supported his spirit with present consolations, so that his rack was rather a pleasure than a torment to him. But to return.

XII. Heaven shewed itself not well pleased with the proceedings of the emperor. For, immediately, the temple of Apollo in the Daphne took fire, which in a few hours burnt the famed image of the god, and reduced the temple, excepting only the walls and pillars, into ashes. This the Christians ascribed to

[d] Lib. xxiii. c. 1. [e] Socrat. l. iii. c. 19. Sozom. l. vi. c. 19. Theodor. l. iii. c. 10.

the divine vengeance, the Gentiles imputed it to the malice of the Christians; and though the priests and warders of the temple were racked to make them say so, yet could they not be brought to affirm any more, than that it was fired by a light from heaven. This conflagration is mentioned not only by Christian writers, but by Ammianus Marcellinus,[f] and by Julian himself,[g] but especially by Libanius the orator, who in an oration on purpose made to the people, elegantly bewails its unhappy fate; whose discourse St. Chrysostom takes to task, and makes witty and eloquent remarks upon it. If the reader ask what became of Babylas's remains after all this noise and bustle, they were entombed within the city, in a church dedicated to his name and memory, and in after-ages are said to have been translated by some Christian princes (probably during their wars in the holy land) to Cremona in Italy,[h] where, how oft they have been honourably reposed, and with how much pomp and ceremonious veneration they are still entertained, they who are curious after such things may inquire.

[f] Lib. xxii. c. 13. [g] Misopog. p. 361. [h] Vid. Bolland. ad Jan. 24.

THE LIFE OF SAINT CYPRIAN,

BISHOP OF CARTHAGE.

His birth-place. The nobility of his family exploded. The confounding him with another Cyprian, bishop of Antioch. These two vastly distinct. St. Cyprian's education. His professing rhetoric. His conversion to Christianity by the persuasions of Cæcilius. Their mutual endearment. His great charity to the poor. His baptism. Made presbyter, and bishop of Carthage. His modest declining the honour. His proscription, recess, and care of his church during that retirement. The case of the Lapsed A brief account of the rise of the Novatian sect. The fierceness of the persecution at Carthage under Decius. The courage and patience of the Christians. Cyprian's return. A synod at Carthage about the case of the Lapsed, and the cause of Novatian. Their determination of these matters. Ratified by a synod at Rome: and another at Antioch. A second synod about the same affair. Moderation in the ecclesiastic discipline used in the time of persecution. The great pestilence at Carthage. The miserable state of that city. The mighty charity of St. Cyprian and the Christians at that time. These evils charged upon the Christians. St. Cyprian's vindication of them. The time of baptizing infants determined in a synod. Another synod to decide the case of the Spanish bishops that had lapsed in the time of persecution. The controversy concerning the rebaptizing those who had been baptized by heretics. This resolved upon in a synod of eigthy-seven African bishops. The immoderate heats between Cyprian, Firmilian, and Stephen bishop of Rome, about this matter. Cyprian arraigned before the proconsul. His resolute carriage. His banishment to Curubis. His martyrdom foretold him by a vision. His letters during his exile. The severe usage of the Christians. His withdrawment, and why. His apprehension, and examination before the proconsul. The sentence passed upon him. His martyrdom, and place of burial. His piety, fidelity, chastity, humility, modesty, charity, &c. His natural parts. His learning, wherein it mainly consisted. The politeness and elegancy of his style. His quick proficiency in Christian studies. His frequent converse with Tertullian's writings. His books. The excellency of those ascribed to him. The great honours done to his memory.

Thascius Cæcilius Cyprian was born at Carthage, in the declining part of the foregoing *sæculum*, though the particular year cannot be ascertained. Who or what his parents were is unknown. Cardinal Baronius[a] (not to mention others) makes him descended

[a] Ad Ann. 250. n. 5. vid. not. ad Martyrol. Rom. Sept. 26.

of a rich honourable family, and himself to have been one of the chief of the senatorian order; and this upon the authority of Nazianzen,[b] who indeed affirms it; but then certainly forgot that in very few lines before he had exploded, as a fabulous mistake, the confounding our Cyprian with another of the same name, of whom Nazianzen unquestionably meant it. For besides our Carthaginian Cyprian, there was another born at Antioch, a person of great learning and eminency, who travelled through Greece, Phrygia, Egypt, India, Chaldæa, and where not? famous for the study and the arts of magic, by which he sought to compass the affections of Justina, a noble Christian virgin at Antioch, by whose prayers and endeavours he was converted, baptized, made first sexton, then deacon of that church, was endued with miraculous powers, and afterwards consecrated bishop of that church, (though, I confess, I find not his name in the catalogue of the bishops of that see, drawn up by Nicephorus of Constantinople,) and at last, having been miserably tormented at Antioch, was sent to Dioclesian himself, then at Nicomedia, by whose command, together with Justina, sent thither also at the same time from Damascus, he was beheaded: the history of all which was largely described in three books in verse, written by the noble empress Eudocia, the *excerpta* whereof are still extant in Photius.[c] This account Simeon the Metaphrast, Nicephorus, and the later Greeks, without any scruple attribute to St. Cyprian of Carthage, nay, some of them make him to suffer martyrdom under the Decian persecution: though in the whole mistake the more to be pardoned, in that not only Prudentius, but Nazianzen had long before manifestly confounded these two eminent persons, who, finding several passages of the Antiochian Cyprian very near akin to the other, carried all the rest along with them, as two persons very like are oft mistaken the one for the other. To prove that our Cyprian was not him described by Nazianzen, were a vain and needless attempt, the accounts concerning them being so vastly different, both as to their country, education, manner of life, episcopal charge, the time, place, and companions of their death, that it is plainly impossible to reconcile them. But of this enough.

II. St. Cyprian's education was ingenuous,[d] polished by study

[b] Orat. in laud. S. Cypr. vol. i. p. 277.
[c] Cod. CLXXXIV.
[d] Pont. Diac. in vit. Cypr. p. 1.

and the liberal arts, though he principally addicted himself to the study of oratory and eloquence, wherein he made such vast improvements, that publicly and with great applause he taught rhetoric at Carthage:[e] all which time he lived in great pomp and plenty, in honour and power, his garb splendid, his retinue stately; never going abroad (as himself tells us[f]) but he was thronged with a crowd of clients and followers. The far greatest part of his life he passed among the errors of the Gentile religion, and was at least upon the borders of old age when he was rescued from the vassalage of inveterate customs, the darkness of idolatry, and the errors and vices of his past life, as himself intimates in his epistle to Donatus.[g] He was converted to Christianity by the arguments and importunities of Cæcilius a presbyter of Carthage,[h] a person whom ever after he loved as a friend, and reverenced as a father: and so mutual an endearment was there between them, that Cyprian in honour to him assumed the title of Cæcilius; and the other at his death made him his executor, and committed his wife and children to his sole care and tutelage. Being yet a catechumen,[i] he gave early instances of a great and generous piety; professed a strict and severe temperance and sobriety, accounting it one of the best preparations for the entertainment of the truth, to subdue and tread down all irregular appetites and inclinations. His estate, at least the greatest part of it, he sold, and distributed it among the necessities of the poor; at once triumphing over the love of the world, and exercising that great duty of mercy and charity, which God values above all the ritual devotions in the world. So that by the speedy progress of his piety, (says Pontius, his friend and deacon,) he became almost a perfect Christian, before he had learnt the rules of Christianity.

III. Being fully instructed in the rudiments of the Christian faith, he was baptized;[k] when the mighty assistances which he received from above, perfectly dispelled all doubts, enlightened all obscurities, and enabled him with ease to do things which before he looked upon as impossible to be discharged. Not long after, he was called to the inferior ecclesiastic offices, and then advanced to the degree of presbyter; wherein he so admirably behaved himself, that he was quickly summoned to the highest

[e] Hier. de script. in Cypriano. [f] Ad Donat. p. 3. [g] Ibid.
[h] Pont. Diac. in vit. Cypr. p. 3. [i] Id. ibid. p. 2. [k] Cypr. ad Donat. p. 3.

order and honour in the church. Donatus, his immediate predecessor in the see of Carthage, (as his own words seem to imply,[l]) being dead, the general vogue both of clergy and people (Felicissimus the presbyter and some very few of his party only dissenting[m]) was for Cyprian to succeed him. But the great modesty and humility of the man made him fly from the first approaches of the news;[n] he thought himself unfit for so weighty and honourable employment, and therefore desired that a more worthy person, and some of his seniors in the faith, might possess the place. His declining it did but set so much the keener an edge upon the desires and expectations of the people; his doors were immediately crowded, and all passages of escape blocked up; he would indeed have fled out at the window, but finding it in vain, he unwillingly yielded: the people in the mean while impatiently waiting, divided between hope and fear, till seeing him come forth, they received him with an universal joy and satisfaction. This charge he entered upon anno 248, as himself plainly intimates,[o] when in his letter to Cornelius he tells him he had been four years bishop of Carthage; which epistle was written not long after the beginning of Cornelius's pontificate, anno 251. It was the third consulship of Philip the emperor; a memorable time, it being the thousandth year *ab Urbe condita*, when the *ludi sæculares* were celebrated at Rome with all imaginable magnificence and solemnity: though indeed it was then but the declining part of the *Annus Millesimus*, which began with the *palilia*, about April 21 of the foregoing year, and ended with the *palilia* of this: whence in the ancient coins of this emperor these secular sports are sometimes ascribed to his second, sometimes to his third consulship, as commencing in the one, and being completed in the other.

IV. The entrance upon his care and government was calm and peaceable, but he had not been long in it before a storm overtook him, and, upon what occasion I know not, he was publicly proscribed by the name of "Cæcilius Cyprian bishop of the Christians,"[p] and every man commanded not to hide or conceal his goods: and not satisfied with this, they frequently called out,

[l] Epist. lix. ad Cornelium, p. 130.
[m] Epist. xliii. ad Plebem. p. 82.
[n] Pont. Diac. in vit. Cypr. p. 3.
[o] Epist. lix. ad Cornelium, p. 130.
[p] Epist. lxvi. ad Flor. Pupianum, p. 166. Ep. lix. ad Cornelium, p. 130. vid. Pont. in vit. Cypr. p. 4.

that he might be thrown to the lions. So that being warned by a divine admonition and command from God, (as he pleads for himself,[q]) and lest by his resolute defiance of the public sentence he should provoke his adversaries to fall more severely upon the whole church,[r] he thought good at present to withdraw himself, hoping that malice would cool and die, and the fire go out when the fuel that kindled it was taken away. During this recess, though absent in body yet was he present in spirit; supplying the want of his presence by letters, (whereof he wrote no less than thirty-eight,) by pious counsels, grave admonitions, frequent reproofs, earnest exhortations, and especially by hearty prayers to heaven for the welfare and prosperity of the church. That which created him the greatest trouble, was the case of the lapsed, whom some presbyters, without the knowledge and consent of the bishop, rashly admitted to the communion of the church upon very easy terms. Cyprian, a stiff asserter of ecclesiastic discipline, and the rights of his place, would not brook this, but by several letters not only complained of it, but endeavoured to reform it, not sparing the martyrs themselves; who, presuming upon their great merits in the cause of religion, took upon them to give libels of peace to the lapsed, whereby they were again taken into communion, sooner than the rules of the church did allow.

V. This remissness of discipline, and easy admission of penitents, gave occasion to Novatus, one of the presbyters of Carthage, to start aside, and draw a faction after him, denying any place to the lapsed, though penitent, in the peace and communion of the church; not that they absolutely excluded them the mercy and pardon of God, (for they left them to the sentence of the divine tribunal,) but maintained that the church had no power to absolve them that once lapsed after baptism, and to receive them again into communion. Having sufficiently embroiled the church at home, (where he was in danger to be excommunicated by Cyprian for his scandalous, irregular, and unpeaceable practices,) over he goes, with some of his party, to Rome; where, by a pretence of uncommon sanctity and severity, besides some confessors lately delivered out of prison, he seduced Novatianus, (who by the Greek fathers is almost perpetually confounded with Novatus,) a presbyter of the Roman

[q] Epist. xx. ad Presb. et Diac. Rom. p. 42. [r] Id. ibid.

church, a man of an insolent and ambitious temper, and who had attempted to thrust himself into that chair. Him the party procures, by clancular arts and uncanonical means, to be consecrated bishop, and then set him up against Cornelius, lately ordained bishop of that see, whom they peculiarly charged with holding a communion with Trophimus and some others of the *thurificati*,[s] who had done sacrifice in the late persecution: which, though plausibly pretended, was yet a false allegation; Trophimus and his party not being taken in, till by great humility and a public penance they had given satisfaction to the church,[t] nor he then suffered to communicate any otherwise than in a lay-capacity. Being disappointed in their designs, they now openly shew themselves in their own colours; separate from the church, which they charge with looseness and licentiousness in admitting scandalous offenders, and by way of distinction, styling themselves *Cathari*, the pure and undefiled party, those who kept themselves from all society with the lapsed, or them that communicated with them. Hereupon they were on all hands opposed by private persons, and condemned by public synods, and cried down by the common vote of the church; probably not so much upon the account of their different sentiments and opinions in point of pardon of sin and ecclesiastical penance, (wherein they stood not at so wide a distance from the doctrine and practice of the early ages of the church,) as for their insolent and domineering temper, their proud and surly carriage, their rigorous and imperious imposing their way upon other churches; their taking upon them, by their own private authority, to judge, censure, and condemn those that joined not with them, or opposed them; their bold divesting the governors of the church of that great power lodged in them, of remitting crimes upon repentance, which seem to have been the very soul and spirit of the Novatian sect.

VI. In the mean while the persecution under Decius raged with an uncontrolled fury over the African provinces, and especially at Carthage, concerning which Cyprian every where gives large and sad accounts,[u] whereof this is the sum. They were scourged, and beaten, and racked, and roasted, and their flesh

[s] Vid. Epist. lv. ad Antonian. p. 101. [t] Ibid. p. 105.

[u] Epist. lvi. ad Fortunat. etc. p. 115. Epist. xiii. ad Rogatian. etc. p. 30. Epist. xi. ad Presbyt. et Diac. p. 23. Lib. ad Demetr. p. 188.

pulled off with burning pincers, beheaded with swords, and run through with spears; more instruments of torment being many times employed about the man at once, than there were limbs and members of his body: they were spoiled and plundered, chained and imprisoned, thrown to wild beasts, and burnt at the stake. And when they had run over all their old methods of execution, they studied for more, *excogitat novas pœnas ingeniosa crudelitas*, as he complains. Nor did they only vary, but repeat the torments, and where one ended another began; they tortured them without hopes of dying, and added this cruelty to all the rest, to stop them in their journey to heaven; many who were importunately desirous of death, were so tortured that they might not die, they were purposely kept upon the rack, that they might die by piece-meals, that their pains might be lingering, and their sense of them without intermission, they gave them no intervals, or times of respite, unless any of them chanced to give them the slip and expire in the midst of torments: all which did but render their faith and patience more illustrious, and make them more earnestly long for heaven. They tired out their tormentors, and overcame the sharpest engines of execution, and smiled at the busy officers that were raking in their wounds; and when their flesh was wearied, their faith was unconquerable. The multitude beheld with admiration these heavenly conflicts, and stood astonished to hear the servants of Christ, in the midst of all this, with an unshaken mind making a free and bold confession of him, destitute of any external succour, but armed with a divine power, and defending themselves with the shield of faith.

VII. Two full years St. Cyprian had remained in his retirement, when the persecution being somewhat abated by the death of Decius, he returned to Carthage, anno 251; where he set himself to reform disorders, and to compose the differences that disturbed his church. For which purpose he convened a synod of his neighbour-bishops to consult about the cause of the lapsed: who were no sooner met, but there arrived messengers with letters from Novatian,[x] signifying his ordination to the see of Rome, and bringing an accusation and charge against Cornelius. But the men no sooner appeared, but were disowned, and rejected from communion, especially after that Pompeius

[x] Epist. xliv. ad Cornel. p. 85.

and Stephanus were arrived from Rome, and brought a true account and relation of the case. The synod therefore advised and charged them to desist from their turbulent and schismatical proceedings, not to rend the church by propagating a pernicious faction; that it was their best way, and the safest counsel they could take, to shew themselves true Christians, by returning back to the peace of the church. As for the lapsed, having discussed their case according to the rules of the holy scripture,[y] they concluded upon this wise and moderate expedient, that neither all hopes of peace and communion should be denied them, lest looking upon themselves as in a desperate case, they should start back into a total apostacy from the faith; nor yet the censures of the church be so far relaxed, as rashly to admit them to communion: but that the causes being examined, and regard being had to the will of the delinquents, and the aggravations of particular cases, their time of penance should be accordingly prolonged, and the divine clemency be obtained by acts of a great sorrow and repentance. Their meaning is, that the lapsed being of several sorts, should be treated according to the nature of their crimes; the *libellatici*, who had only purchased libels of security and dismission from the heathen magistrate, to excuse them from doing sacrifice in time of persecution, should have a shorter time of penance assigned them; the *sacrificati*, who had actually sacrificed to idols, should not be taken in till they had expiated their offence by a very long penance, and (as they sometimes call it) satisfaction. This synodical determination was presently sent to Rome,[z] and ratified by Cornelius and a council of sixty bishops, and above as many presbyters and deacons, concluding (and the decree examined, assented to, and published by the bishops in their several provinces) that Novatus and his insolent party, and all that adhered to his inhuman and merciless opinion, should be excluded the communion of the church; but that the brethren who had fallen into that calamity should be gently dealt with, and restored by methods of repentance. About the same time there was a synod also held at Antioch by the Eastern bishops, about the same affair. For so Dionysius,[a] bishop of Alexandria, in his letter to Cornelius of Rome, tells him, that he had been summoned by He-

[y] Epist. lv. ad Anton. p. 102. [z] Id. ibid. p. 103. et Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 43.
[a] Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 46.

lenus bishop of Tarsus, Firmilian of Cappadocia, and Theoctistus of Cæsarea in Palestine, to meet in council at Antioch, to suppress the endeavours of some, who sought there to establish the Novatian schism.

VIII. The next year, May 15, anno 252, began another council at Carthage about this matter,[b] and wherein they steered the same course they had done before, being rather swayed to moderate counsels herein, because frequently admonished by divine revelations of an approaching persecution, and therefore did not think it prudent and reasonable, that men should be left naked and unarmed in the day of battle, but that they might be able to defend themselves with the shield of Christ's body and blood. For how should they ever hope to persuade them to shed their own blood in the cause of Christ, if they denied them the benefit of his blood? how could it be expected they should be ready to drink of the cup of martyrdom, whom the church debarred the privilege to drink of the cup of Christ? While peace and tranquillity smiled upon the church, they protracted the time of penance, and allowed not the *sacrificati* to be readmitted, but at the hour of death. But that now the enemy was breaking in upon them, and Christians were to be prepared and heartened on for suffering, and encouragement to be given to those who by the sincerity of their repentance had shewed themselves ready to resist unto blood, and to contend earnestly for the faith. This they did not to patronise the lazy, but excite the diligent; the church's peace being granted not in order to ease and softness, but to conflict and contention. And if any improved the indulgence to worser purposes, they did but cheat themselves, and such they remitted to the divine tribunal. At this synod appeared one Privatus,[c] who, having some years since been condemned for heresy and other crimes by a council of ninety bishops, desired that his cause might be heard over again, but was rejected by the synod, whereupon gathering a party of the lapsed, or the schismatics, he ordained at Carthage one Fortunatus bishop, giving out that no less than five and twenty bishops were present at the consecration. But the notorious falsehood and vanity of their pretences being discovered, they left the place and fled over to Rome.

[b] Epist. Synod. ad Cornel. ap. Cypr. Epist. lvii. p. 116. et Epist. lix. ad Cornel. p. 132.
[c] Ibid. p. 132.

IX. About this time happened that miserable plague, that so much afflicted the Roman world, wherein Carthage had a very deep share. Vast multitudes were swept away every day,[d] the fatal messenger knocking as he went along at every door. The streets were filled with the carcases of the dead, which seemed to implore the assistance of the living, and to challenge it as a right by the laws of nature and humanity, as that which shortly themselves might stand in need of. But, alas, all in vain; every one trembled, and fled, and shifted for himself, deserted his dearest friends and nearest relations; none considered what might be his own case, nor how reasonable it was that he should do for another what he would another should do for him; and if any stayed behind, it was only to make a prey. In this calamitous and tragic scene, St. Cyprian calls the Christians together, instructs them in the duties of mercy and charity, and, from the precepts and examples of the holy scripture, shews them what a mighty influence they have to oblige God to us; that it was no wonder if their charity extended only to their own party; the way to be perfect, and to be Christians indeed, was to do something more than heathens and publicans, "to overcome evil with good," and, in imitation of the divine benignity, to "love our enemies," and, according to our Lord's advice, to pray for the happiness of them that persecute us; that God constantly makes his sun to rise and his rain to fall upon the seeds and plants, not only for the advantage of his own children, but of all other men; that therefore they should act as became the nobility of their new birth, and imitate the example of such a Father, who professed themselves to be his children. Persuaded by this, and much more that he discoursed to the same effect, enough to convince the very Gentiles themselves, they presently divided their help according to each one's rank and quality. Those who by reason of poverty could contribute nothing to the charge, did what was infinitely more, personally laboured in the common calamity, an assistance infinitely beyond all other contributions. Indeed every one was ambitious to engage under the conduct of such a commander, and in a service wherein they might so eminently approve themselves to God the Father, and Christ the Judge of all, and in the mean time to so pious and good a bishop. And by this large and abundant

[d] Pont. Diac. in vit. Cypr. p. 5.

charity great advantage redounded not to themselves only, who were "of the household of faith," but universally to all. And that he might not be wanting to any, he penned at this time his excellent discourse concerning Mortality; wherein he so eloquently teaches a Christian to triumph over the fears of death, and shews how little reason there is excessively to mourn for those friends and relations that are taken from us.

X. This horrible pestilence, together with the wars which of late had, and even then did, overrun the empire, the Gentiles generally charged upon the Christian religion, as that for which the gods were implacably angry with the world. To vindicate it from this common objection, Cyprian addresses himself in a discourse to Demetrian the proconsul; wherein he proves that these evils that came upon the world could not be laid at the door of Christianity, assigning other reasons of them, and among the rest their wild and brutish rage against the Christians,[e] which had provoked the Deity to bring these calamities upon them, as a just punishment of their folly and madness in persecuting a religion so innocent, and dear to heaven. The persecution being over, a controversy arose concerning the time of baptizing infants, started especially by Fidus,[f] an African bishop; who asserted that baptism was not to be administered on the third or fourth, but, as circumcision under the Jewish state, to be deferred till the eighth day. St. Cyprian, in a synod of sixty-six bishops, determined this question, that it was not necessary to be deferred so long, nor the grace and mercy of God to be denied to any as soon as born into the world; that it was their universal sentence and resolution, that none ought to be prohibited baptism and the grace of God; which as it was to be observed and retained towards all, so much more towards infants and new-born children. Not long after which, another council was held by Cyprian,[g] (importuned thereunto by the bishops of Spain,) to consult concerning the case of Basilides bishop of Asturica, and Martial of Emerita in Spain, who had lapsed into the most horrible idolatry in the late persecution, and yet still retained their places in the church. The synod resolved, that they were fallen from their episcopal order, and the very

[e] Vid. P. Orosius Hist. adv. Pagan. l. vii. c. 21.
[f] Vid. Epist. Synod. ad Fid. Ep. lxiv. p. 159.
[g] Epist. Synod. ad Felicem, etc. Ep. lxviii. p. 170. et seq.

lowest degree of the ministry, and that upon their repentance they were to be restored to no more than the capacity of laics in the communion of the church.

XI. In this synod, or another called not long after, the famous contest about rebaptizing those who had been baptized by heretics, received its first approbation. It had been, some time since by occasion of the Montanists and Novatians, canvassed in the Eastern parts, thence it flew over to Numidia, by the bishops whereof it had been brought before Cyprian and the council at Carthage, who determined that the thing was necessary to be observed, and that this was no novel sentence, but had been so decreed by his predecessors, and the thing constantly practised and observed among them, as he assures them in the synodical epistle about this matter.[h] Among others to whom they sent their decrees, the synod especially wrote to Stephen bishop of Rome,[i] (who had so far espoused the contrary opinion, as to excommunicate the synod at Iconium for making the like determination,) him they acquaint with the sentence they had passed, and the reasons of it, which they hoped he also would assent to, however did not magisterially impose it upon him, every bishop having a proper authority within the jurisdiction of his own church, whereof he is to render an account to God. Pope Stephen (with whom stood a great part of the church) liked not their proceedings; whereupon a more general council was summoned, where no less than eighty-seven bishops, from all parts of the African churches, met together, who unanimously ratified the former sentence, whose names and particular votes are extant in the Acts of the council.[k] But numbers made the cause never the better resented at Rome, and indeed the controversy arose to that height between these two good men, that Stephen gave Cyprian very rude and unchristian language,[l] styling him "false Christ, false apostle, deceitful worker," and such-like: while, on the other hand, Cyprian treated him with more than ordinary sharpness and severity, charging him with pride and impertinence,[m] and self-contradiction, with ignorance and indiscretion, with childishness and obstinacy, and other ex-

[h] Epist. lxx. p. 189.
[i] Epist. lxxii. p. 196.
[k] Apud Cypr. p. 229. et Concill. vol. i. p. 508. ed. reg.
[l] Firmil. Epist. ad Cypr. Ep. lxxv. p. 229.
[m] Ad Pompeium Epist. lxxiv. p. 210.

pressions, far enough from that reverence and regard, which St. Stephen's successors claim at this day. And no better usage did he find from Firmilian bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, as may be seen in his letter to Cyprian,[n] charging Stephen with sacrificing the church's peace to a petulant humour, where inhumanity, audaciousness, insolence, wickedness, are some of the characters bestowed upon him: a great instance how far passion and prejudice may transport wise and good men beyond the merits of the cause, and what the laws of kindness and charity do allow. I note no more concerning this, than that Cyprian and his party expressly disowned anabaptism,[o] or rebaptization; they freely confessed that there was but one baptism, and that those who came over from heretical churches, where they had had their baptism, were not rebaptized, but baptized, their former baptism being *ipso facto* null and invalid, and they did then receive what (lawfully) they had not before.

XII. It was now the year 257, when Aspasius Paternus, the proconsul of Africa, sent for Cyprian to appear before him,[p] telling him, that he had lately received orders from the emperors, (Valerian and Gallienus,) commanding that all that were of a foreign religion should worship the gods, according to the Roman rites, desiring to know what was his resolution? Cyprian answered, "I am a Christian and a bishop; I acknowledge no other gods, but one only true God, who made heaven and earth, and all that therein is. This is he whom we Christians serve, to whom we pray day and night, for ourselves and for all men, and for the happiness and prosperity of the emperors." "And is this then thy resolution?" said the proconsul. "That resolution," replied the martyr, "which is founded in God, cannot be altered." Then he told him, that he was to search out the presbyters as well as bishops, requiring him to discover them. To which Cyprian gave no other answer, than that according to their own laws, they were not bound to be informers. The proconsul then acquainted him, that he was commanded to prohibit all private assemblies, and to proceed with capital severity against them that frequented them. Whereat the good man told him, that his best way was to do as he was commanded. The proconsul, finding it was in vain to treat with him, commanded him to be

[n] Apud Cypr. Ep. lxxv. p. 220.

[o] Epist. lxxi. ad Quint. p. 193.

[p] Act. Pass. S. Cypriani. ap. Cypr. p. 11, etc.

banished, and accordingly he was transported to Curubis, a little city standing in a peninsula within the Libyan Sea, not far from Pentapolis; a place pleasant and delightful enough,[q] and where he met with a kind and a courteous usage, was frequently visited by the brethren, and furnished with all conveniences necessary for him.

XIII. But the greatest entertainment in this retirement were those divine and heavenly visions with which God was pleased to honour him; by one whereof, the very first day of his coming thither, he was particularly forewarned of his approaching martyrdom, whereof Pontius the deacon,[r] who accompanied him in his banishment, gives us this account from the martyr's own mouth. There appeared to him, as he was going to rest, a young man of a prodigious stature, who seemed to lead him to the *prætorium*, and to present him to the proconsul then sitting upon the bench: who, looking upon him, began to write something in a book, which the young man, who looked over his shoulder, read, but not daring to speak, intimated by signs what it was: for extending one of his hands at length, he made a cross-stroke over it with the other, by which Cyprian presently guessed the manner of his death. Whereupon he importunately begged of the proconsul but one day's respite to dispose his affairs; and partly by the pleasingness of the judge's countenance, partly by the signs which the young man made of what the proconsul was noting in his book, he immediately gathered that his request was granted. And just so it accordingly came to pass, both as to the time and manner of his martyrdom, that very day twelve-month, whereon he had this vision, proving the period of his life.

XIV. How active and diligent he was to improve his opportunities to the best advantage, appears from the several letters he wrote during his confinement, especially to the martyrs in prison, whose spirit he refreshed by proper consolations, and pressed them to persevere unto the crown. While he was here, he had news brought him of the daily increase of the persecution;[s] the emperor Valerian having sent a rescript to the senate, that bishops, presbyters, and deacons should be put to death without delay; that senators, and persons of rank and quality,

[q] Pont. Diac. in vit. Cypr. p. 7.
[r] Ibid.
[s] Epist. lxxx. ad Success. p. 237.

should lose their honours and preferments, forfeit their estates, and, if still they continued Christians, lose their heads; and that matrons, having had their goods confiscated, should be banished: that Xystus and Quartus had already suffered in the cemetery, where their solemn assemblies were held; and that the governors of the city carried on the persecution with might and main, spoiling and putting to death all that they could meet with. This sad and uncomfortable news gave the good man just reason to expect and provide for his own fate,[t] which he waited and wished for every day. Indeed, some persons of the highest rank and quality, his ancient friends, came to him, and persuaded him for the present to withdraw, offering to provide a secure place for his retreat. But the desire of that crown which he had in his eye had set him above the world, and made him deaf to their kind offers and entreaties. True it is, that when news was brought that the officers were coming for him, to carry him to Utica, to suffer there, by the advice of his friends he stepped aside, being unwilling to suffer any where but at Carthage, in the eye of the people, where he had so long and so successfully preached the Christian faith, the truth whereof he was desirous to seal with his blood; it being very fit and congruous, that a bishop should suffer for our Lord in that place where he had governed his church, and by that eminent confession edify and encourage the flock committed to him, as he tells the people of his charge in the last letter that ever he wrote.[u] As for themselves, he advised them to peace and unity; not to create trouble to one another, not to offer themselves to the Gentiles, but if any was apprehended, to stand to it, and freely confess, as God should enable him to declare himself.

XV. Galerius Maximus, the new proconsul, being returned to Carthage,[x] Cyprian (who resolved but till then to conceal himself) came home, and took up his residence in his own gardens: where officers were presently sent to apprehend him, who putting him into a chariot, carried him to the place where the proconsul was retired for his health; who commanded him to be kept till the next day, which was done in the house of one of the officers that secured him, the people alarmed with the news of his return and apprehension, flocking to the doors, and watching

[t] Pont. Diac. in vit. Cypr. p. 8. [u] Epist. lxxxi. ad Presb. et Diac. p. 238.
[x] Pont. Diac. in vit. Cypr. p. 8. Act. Pass. ap. Cypr. p. 12, etc.

there all night. The next morning, being Septemb. 14, Ann. Chr. 258, he was led to the proconsul's palace, who not being yet come forth, he was carried aside into a by-place, where he rested himself upon a seat, which by chance was covered with a linen cloth, that so (says my author) even in the hour of his passion he might enjoy some part of episcopal honour. The length and hurry of his walk had put the infirm and aged man into a violent sweat, which being observed by a military messenger, who had formerly been a Christian, he came to him, and offered to accommodate him with dry linen, instead of that wet and moist that was about him: this he did in a pretended civility, but really with design to have secured some monument of the martyr's last agony and labour; who returned no other answer, than "We seek to cure complaints and sorrows which, perhaps, to-day shall be no more for ever." By this time the proconsul was come out, who, looking upon him, said, "Art thou Thascius Cyprian, who hast been bishop and father to men of an impious mind? the sacred emperors command thee to do sacrifice. Be well advised, and do not throw away thy life." The holy martyr replied, "I am Cyprian; I am a Christian, and I cannot sacrifice to the gods; do as thou art commanded; as for me, in so just a cause there needs no consultation." The proconsul was angry at his resolute constancy, and told him, that he had been a long time of this sacrilegious humour, had seduced abundance into the same wicked conspiracy with himself, and shewn himself an enemy to the gods and religion of the Roman empire, one whom the pious and religious emperors could never reduce to the observance of their holy rites: that therefore, being found to be the author and ringleader of so heinous a crime, he should be made an example to those whom he had seduced into so great a wickedness, and that discipline and severity should be established in his blood. Whereupon he read his sentence out of a table-book, "I will that Thascius Cyprian be beheaded." To which the martyr only answered, "I heartily thank Almighty God, who is pleased to set me free from the chains of the body."

XVI. Sentence being passed, he was led away from the tribunal with a strong guard of soldiers, infinite numbers of people crowding after; the Christians weeping and mourning, and crying out, "let us also be beheaded with him." The place of

execution was Sextus's field, a large circuit of ground, where the trees (whereof the place was full) were loaded with persons to behold the spectacle. The martyr presently began to strip himself, first putting off his cloak, which he folded up, and laid at his feet, and falling down upon his knees, recommended his soul to God in prayer; after which, he put off his Dalmatic, or under-coat, which he delivered to the deacons, and so standing in nothing but a linen vestment, expected the headsman, to whom he commanded the sum of about six pounds to be given,[x] the brethren spreading linen cloths about him to preserve his blood from being spread upon the ground. His shirt-sleeves being tied by Julian, (or, as one of the Acts calls him, Tullian,) the presbyter, and Julian the sub-deacon, he covered his eyes with his own hand, and the executioner did his office. His body was by the Christians deposited not far off, but at night, for fear of the Gentiles, removed, and with abundance of lights and torches solemnly interred in the cemetery of Macrobius Candidus a procurator, near the fish-ponds in the Mappalian way. This was done anno 258, Valeriani et Gallieni 5; so extravagantly wide is the account of the Alexandrine Chronicle,[z] (if it means the same person,) when it tells us that St. Cyprian suffered martyrdom, Ann. Alexandri Imp. 13, that is, Ann. Chr. 234; though the consuls under which he places it (and this agrees better with his other accounts, both of the Olympiads and of Christ's ascension) assign it to the last year of Maximinus, Ann. Chr. 237; for so he says, that it was 205 years after our Lord's ascension into heaven: which was, however, far enough from truth. Indeed, elsewhere he places St. Cyprian's martyrdom,[a] Valeriani 2, which (as appears by the consuls) should be 5; that is, Ann. Chr. 258. But it is no new thing with that author to confound times and persons, and assign the same events to different years. Thus died this good man, the first bishop of his see that suffered martyrdom, as Pontius his deacon informs us;[b] who was a true lover of him, and followed him to the last, and professes himself not to rejoice so much at the glory and triumph of his master, as to mourn that he himself was left behind.

[x] Act. Pass. Cypr. ap. Cypr. p. 13. et vid. Brierw. de Num. c. 14.
[z] Ann. 4. Olympiad. 253. Indict. 13. [a] An. 1. Olymp. 259. Ind. 4. Valer. 2.
[b] In vit. Cypr. p. 10.

XVII. St. Cyprian, though starting late, ran apace in the Christian race. He had a soul inflamed with a mighty love and zeal for God, whose honour he studied by all ways to promote. A wise and prudent governor, a great asserter of the church's rights, a resolute patron and defender of the truth, a faithful and vigilant overseer of his flock, powerful and diligent in preaching, prudent in his determinations, moderate in his counsels, grave and severe in his admonitions, pathetical and affectionate in his persuasives, indulgent to the penitent, but inflexible to the obstinate and contumacious.[c] Infinite pains he took to reclaim the lapsed, and to restore them to the church by methods of penance and due humiliation:[d] he invited them kindly, treated them tenderly; if their minds were honest, and their desires sincere, he would not rigorously examine their crimes by over-nice weights and measures; so prone to pity and compassion, that he was afraid lest he himself offended in remitting other men's offences. He valued the good of souls above the love of his own life; constant in the profession of religion, from which neither by hopes nor fears could he be drawn aside. How strictly chaste and continent he was, even in his first entrance upon Christianity, we have noted in the beginning of his life. His humility eminently appeared in his declining the honour of the episcopal order, and desire that it might be conferred upon a more deserving person; and when some factious and schismatical persons traduced him as taking too much upon him, because he controlled their wild and licentious courses, he vindicates his humility at large in a letter to Pupianus,[e] who had made himself head of the party that appeared against him. So modest, that in all great transactions concerning the church, he always consulted both his colleagues and his flock, himself assuring us,[f] that from the very entrance upon his bishopric, he determined not to adjudge any thing by his own private order, without the counsel of the clergy and the consent of the people. His behaviour was composed and sober,[g] his countenance grave, yet cheerful, neither guilty of a frowning severity, nor an over-pleasant mirth, but an equal decorum and temperament of both, it being hard to say, whether he more deserved to be loved or feared, but that he equally de-

[c] Vid. Nemes. etc. Martyr. Epist. ad Cypr. lxxvii. opp. Cypr. p. 234.
[d] Vid. Epist. lix. ad Cornel. p. 138.
[e] Epist. lxvi. p. 165.
[f] Epist. v. ad Presb. et Diac. p. 10.
[g] Pont. Diac. in vit. Cypr. p. 4.

served both. And the very same he was in his garb, sober and moderate, observing a just distance both from slovenliness and superfluity, such as neither argued him to be swelled with pride and vanity, nor infected with a sordid and penurious mind. But that which set the crown upon the head of all his other virtues, was his admirable and exemplary charity; he was of a kind and compassionate temper, and he gave it vent. Upon his first embracing the Christian religion he sold his estate, (which was not mean and inconsiderable,) and gave almost all of it to the poor, from which he suffered no considerations to restrain him. His hand, and tongue, and heart were open upon all occasions; we find him at one time not only earnestly pressing others to contribute towards the redemption of Christians taken captive by the Barbarians,[h] but himself sending a collection of a great many thousand crowns. Nor was this a single act done once in his life, but his ordinary practice: his doors were open to all that came, the widow never returned empty from him;[i] to any that were blind, he would be their guide to direct them; those that were lame, he was ready to lend his assistance to support them; if any were oppressed by might, he was at hand to rescue and protect them: which things, he was wont to say, they ought to do, who desired to render themselves truly acceptable and dear to God.

XVIII. His natural parts seem to have been ready and acute enough, which how far he improved by secular and Gentile learning, is unknown. He seems to have laid no deep foundations in the study of philosophy, whereof few or no footsteps are to be seen in any of his writings: his main excellency was eloquence, rhetoric being his proper profession before his conversion to Christianity; wherein he attained to so great a pitch, that Erasmus, a competent judge of these matters, sticks not to affirm,[k] that among all the ecclesiastics he is the only African writer that attained the native purity of the Latin tongue. Tertullian is difficult and obscure, St. Augustine strangely perplexed and dry; but Cyprian, (as St. Hierom long since truly censured,[l]) like a pure fountain, is smooth and sweet: and Lactantius, long before him, passed this judgment,[m] that Cyprian

[h] Epist. lxii. ad Episc. Numid. p. 147.
[i] Diac. in vit. Cypr. p. 4.
[k] Præf. in Cypr. inter Erasm. Ep. l. xxviii. Epist. 6. p. 1616.
[l] Epist. xlix. ad Paulin. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 567.
[m] De Justit. l. v. c. 1.

alone was the chief and famous writer, eminent for his teaching oratory, and writing books admirable in their kind; that he had a facile, copious, pleasant, and (which is the greatest grace of speech) clear and perspicuous wit, that a man can hardly discern, whether he be more eloquent in his expressions, easy in his explications, or potent in his persuasives. Indeed his style is very natural and easy, nothing elaborate or affected in it, or which savours of craft and ostentation, but such every where the tenor of his language, (I speak Erasmus's sense as well as my own,[n]) that you will think you hear a truly Christian bishop, and one designed for martyrdom speaking to you. His mind was inflamed with piety, and his speech was answerable to his mind: he spake elegantly, and yet things more powerful than elegant, nor did he speak powerful things so much as live them. After his coming over to the church, he made such quick and vast proficiencies in Christian theology, that Baronius thinks it not improbable to suppose,[o] either that before his conversion he had been conversant in the books of Christians, or that he was miraculously instructed from above. It is certain that afterwards he kept close to Tertullian's writings, without which he scarce ever passed one day, often saying to his notary, "reach hither my master," meaning Tertullian: a passage which St. Hierom tells us,[p] he received from Paulus of Concordia in Italy, who had it from the mouth of Cyprian's own amanuensis at Rome. And certainly it sounds not a little to the commendation of his judgment, that he could drink so freely at that great man's fountain, and suck in none of his odd and uncouth opinions; that he could pick the flowers, and pass by the useless or noxious weeds; as a wise man many times is so far from being corrupted, that he is the more warned and confirmed in the right by another man's errors and mistakes. As for his writings, St. Hierom passes them over with this character,[q] that it was superfluous to reckon them up, being clearer and more obvious than the sun. Many of them are undoubtedly lost; the greatest part of what remain are epistles, and all of them such as admirably tend to promote the peace and order of the church, and advance piety and a good life. A great number of tracts, either dubious or evidently supposititious, are laid at his door,

[n] Loc. supra citat.
[o] Ad ann. 250. n. 11.
[p] De Script. in Tertull.
[q] De Script. in Cypr.

some of them very ancient, and most of them useful; it being his happiness, above all other writers of the church, (says Erasmus,[r]) that nothing is fathered upon him but what is learned, and what was the issue of some considerable pen.

XIX. He was highly honoured, while he lived, not only by men, consulted and appealed to in all weighty cases by foreign churches, but by frequent visions and divine condescensions, (as he was wont to call them,) whereby he was immediately warned and directed in all important affairs and exigences of the church. After his death his memory was had in great veneration, the people of Carthage erecting two eminent churches to it,[s] one in the place of his martyrdom, the other in the Mappalian way, where he was buried. The former was styled *Mensa Cypriani*, Cyprian's table, because there he had been offered up a sacrifice acceptable unto God. And here they had their anniversary commemorations of him. Whether this was the church mentioned by Procopius,[t] I cannot tell; who informs us, that the Carthaginians, above all people in the world, honoured St. Cyprian, building a magnificent church to his memory without the city walls near the sea side; and besides other expressions of honour done to him, they kept a yearly festival, which they called *Cypriana*. This church Honoricus, king of the Vandals, afterwards took from the Catholics, casting out the orthodox clergy with disgrace and contempt, and bestowed it upon the Arians, which ninety-five years after was recovered by the emperor Justinian, under the conduct of Belisarius, who besieged and took Carthage, and drove the Vandals out of all those parts.

[r] Loco supra citat.

[s] Vict. de Persec. Vandal. l. i. p. 801. vol. ii. inter Patr. Orthodox. per Grynæum.

[t] De Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 21. vid. Niceph. l. xvii. c. 12.

His writings.

Genuine.

Epistola ad Donatum statim à Baptismo conscripta.

Epistolæ in Secessu toto biennio conscriptæ 38.

Epistolæ sub Pontificatu Cornelii et Lucii 18.

Epistolæ Miscellaneæ in pace variis temporibus conscriptæ 8.

Epistolæ sub Pontificatu Stephani, et de rebaptizandis Hæreticis 10.

Epistolæ in exilio scriptæ sub finem vitæ 7.

De disciplina et habitu Virginum.

De Lapsis.

De Unitate Ecclesiæ Catholicæ.

De Oratione Dominica.

Ad Demetrianum.

De Idolorum vanitate.

De Mortalitate.
De Opere et Eleemosynis.
De Bono Patientiæ.
De Zelo et Livore.
De exhortatione Martyrii ad Fortunatum.
Testimoniorum Adversus Judæos libri tres.
Concilium Carthaginense, de baptizandis Hæreticis.

Supposititious.

De Spectaculis.
De Disciplina et bono pudicitiæ.
De Laude Martyrii ad Mosen, etc.
Ad Novatianum, quod Lapsis spes veniæ non sit deneganda.
De Cardinalibus Christi operibus.
De Nativitate Christi.
De ratione Circumcisionis.
De Stella et Magis, ac innocentium nece.
De baptismo Christi, et manifestatione Trinitatis.
De jejunio et tentationibus Christi.
De Cœna Domini.
De Ablutione pedum.
De unctione Chrismatis, et aliis Sacramentis.
De Passione Christi.
De Resurrectione Christi.
De Ascensione Christi.
De Spiritu Sancto.
De Aleatoribus.
De montibus Sina et Sion contr. Judæos.
Carmen, Genesis.
Carmen, Sodoma.
Carmen, ad Senatorem Apostatam.
Hymnus de Pascha Domini.
Oratio pro Martyribus.
Oratio in die Passionis suæ.
De singularitate Clericorum.
In Symbolum Apostolorum Expositio.
De Judaica incredulitate.
Adv. Judæos, qui Christum insecuti sunt.
De revelatione Capitis B. Joan. Baptistæ.
De duplici Martyrio, ad Fortunatum.
De 12 Abusionibus Sæculi.
Dispositio Cœnæ.

THE LIFE OF SAINT GREGORY,

BISHOP OF NEOCÆSAREA.

St. Gregory, where born. His kindred and relations. The rank and quality of his parents. His youthful studies. His study of the laws. His travels to Alexandria. The calumny there fixed upon him, and his miraculous vindication. His return through Greece. His studying the law at Berytus, and upon what occasion. His fixing at Cæsarea, and putting himself under the tutorage of Origen. The course of his studies. His panegyric to Origen at his departure. Origen's letter to him, and the importance of it. His refusal to stay at Neocæsarea, and retirement into the wilderness. His shunning to be made bishop of Neocæsarea. Consecrated bishop of that city during his absence. His acceptance of the charge, and the state of that place at his entrance upon it. His miraculous instruction in the great mysteries of Christianity. His creed. The miracles wrought by him in his return. His expelling demons out of a Gentile temple, and the success of it. His welcome entrance into the city, and kind entertainment. His diligent preaching to the people. His erecting a church for divine worship, and its signal preservation. An horrible plague stopped by his prayers. The great influence of it upon the minds of the people. His judging in civil causes. His drying up a lake by his prayers, which had been the cause of an implacable quarrel between two brothers; and his restraining the overflowings of the river Lycus. The signal vengeance inflicted upon two Jews, counterfeit beggars. The fame and multitude of his miracles, and the authorities to justify the credibility of them. The rage and cruelty of the Decian persecution in the regions of Pontus and Cappadocia. His persuading the Christians to withdraw. His own retirement. The narrow search made for him, and his miraculous escape. His betrayer converted. His return to Neocæsarea, and instituting solemnities to the memories of the martyrs, and the reasons of it. The inundations of the Northern nations upon the Roman empire. His canonical epistle to rectify the disorders committed by occasion of those inroads. His meeting with others in the synod at Antioch, about the cause of Paulus Samosetanus. His return home, age, and death. His solemn thanks to God for the flourishing state of his church, and command concerning his burial. The excellent character given of him by St. Basil. His writings. The charge of Sabellianism. St. Basil's Apology for him in that behalf. Modesty to be used in censuring the ancient fathers, and why.

ST. GREGORY, called originally Theodorus, was born at Neocæsarea,[a] the metropolis of Cappadocia, situate upon the river Lycus. His parents were Gentiles, but eminent for their birth and for-

[a] Greg. Nyss. in vit. Greg. Thaum. vol. iii. p. 537.

tunes. He had a brother called Athenodorus, his fellow-pupil, and afterwards colleague in the episcopal order in his own country; and one sister, at least, married to a judge under the governor of Palestine. His father was a zealot for his religion,[b] wherein he took care to educate him, together with the learning of the Gentile world. When he was fourteen years of age his father died, after which he took a greater liberty of inquiring into things; and as his reason grew more quick and manly, and was advantaged by the improvements of education, he saw more plainly the folly and vanity of that religion wherein he had been brought up, which presently abated his edge, and turned his inclinations towards Christianity. But though he had lost his father, his mother took care to complete his breeding,[c] placing him and his brother under masters of rhetoric and eloquence: by one of which, who was appointed to teach him the Latin tongue, as a necessary piece of noble and ingenuous education, he was persuaded to the study of the Roman laws, as what would be a mighty advantage to him in what way soever he should make use of his rhetorical studies afterwards; and the man himself, being no inconsiderable lawyer, read lectures to him with great accuracy and diligence, which he as sedulously attended to, rather to gratify his humour and his fancy, than out of any love to those studies, or design to arrive at perfection in them: which however sufficiently commends his industry, those laws (as himself observes[d]) being vast and various, and not to be learned without trouble and difficulty: and which above all increased the labour, was, that they were all written in Latin, a language (as he confesses) great indeed and admirable, and suited to the majesty of the empire; but which he found troublesome enough to make himself but a competent master of.

II. Having laid the foundations of his first and most necessary studies at home, he designed yet further to accomplish himself by foreign travels, going probably first for Alexandria, grown more than ordinarily famous by the Platonic school lately erected there. Indeed, I am not confident of the precise assigning this period of his life, but know that I cannot be much wide the mark, Gregory of Nyssa assuring us,[e] that he came thither in his youth, where, by the closeness of his studies, but especially by

[b] Greg. Thaum. Panegyr. ad Orig. p. 55. [c] Ibid. p. 56. [d] Ibid. p. 49.
[e] In vit. Greg. Thaum. vol. iii. p. 540.

the admirable sobriety and strictness of his life, he visibly reproached the debaucheries of his fellow-students, who were of more wanton and dissolute manners. They presently fall a meditating revenge, confederating with a common strumpet to put an abuse and affront upon him. Accordingly, dressed in a loose wanton garb, she came to him one day as he was engaged in a serious and grave discourse with some learned and peculiar friends, impudently charging him with over-familiar converses, relating what she thought good to affirm had either been said, or had passed between them; charging him moreover with cheating her of the reward of their lewd embraces. The company, who knew him to be a person of quite another temper, stormed at the boldness and impudence of the woman, while he, regardless of the affront, said nothing to it, calmly desiring a friend to give her the money that she asked, that they might be no longer interrupted in their discourses. But behold how ready heaven is to vindicate the cause of injured innocence. The money was no sooner paid into her hand, but, as if acted by a furious demon, she fell into fits of the most wild and extravagant madness, roaring out the most horrid noise, throwing herself upon the ground, pulling and tearing of her hair, distorting her eyes, and foaming at the mouth; nor could she be freed from the rude treatments of the merciless demon, till he whom she had wronged had forgiven her, and interceded to heaven for her.

III. Departing from Alexandria, he came back, as we may probably suppose, through Greece, and stayed awhile at Athens, where Socrates tells us he studied,[f] and thence returned to his own country, applying himself to his old study of the law, which he had now a great opportunity to improve by going to Berytus, a city of Phœnicia, and a famous university for the profession of the Roman laws; whence Eunapius says of Anatolius,[g] it was no wonder if he was incomparably skilled in the laws, being born at Berytus, the mother of those studies. Hither he came upon this occasion.[h] The president of Palestine had taken his brother-in-law, an eminent lawyer, along with him to be his assessor and assistant in governing the affairs of that province, who, not long after, sent for his wife, and a request that he also would come along with her. All things conspired to make him willing to

[f] Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 27.

[g] In vit. Prœres. p. 151.

[h] Greg. Thaum. Panegyr. ad Orig. p. 58.

undertake this journey; the gratifying his sister with his company, the importunity and persuasion of his friends, the conveniency of residing at Berytus for the study of the law, and the advantage of conveyance, and the public carriages that were sent to fetch his sister and her retinue into those parts. Whether he actually studied at Berytus, cannot be gathered from any account that he himself gives of it, nay, rather the contrary,[i] though St. Hierom and others expressly affirm it. If he did, he stayed not long, quickly growing weary of his law-studies, being tempted with the more pleasant and charming speculations of philosophy. The fame of Origen, who at that time had opened a school at Cæsarea in Palestine, and whose renown no doubt he had heard sufficiently celebrated at Alexandria, soon reached him, to whom he immediately betook himself; where meeting accidentally with Firmilian, a Cappadocian gentleman,[k] and afterwards bishop of Cæsarea in that country, and finding a more than ordinary sympathy and agreeableness in their tempers and studies, they entered into a league of friendship, and jointly put themselves, together with his brother Athenodorus, under the tutorage of that so much celebrated master: where Erasmus's mistake must be pardoned,[l] making our Gregory and Theodorus two distinct scholars of Origen, when it is so notoriously known they were but two names of the same person: though herein the more easily to be excused, that Nicephorus Callistus,[m] long before him, had, besides ours, made another Theodorus scholar also to Origen at that same time at Cæsarea, who was, as he tells us, an eminent bishop in Palestine. But herein there is an universal silence in all other writers; not the least intimation of it in Eusebius, from whom he derives his accounts of things. So plain it is, that of two several names he made two different persons.

IV. Glad he was to have fallen under so happy an institution; Origen, by the most apt and easy methods, leading him through the whole region and circumference of philosophy. By how many stages he brought him through the several parts of discipline, logic, physics, mathematics, ethics, metaphysics, and how he introduced him into the mysteries of theology, St. Gregory

[i] Greg. Thaum. Panegyr. ad Orig. p. 59.

[k] Greg. Nyss. in vit. Greg. Thaum. vol. iii. p. 542.

[l] Vit. Orig. Præf. Orig. Oper.

[m] Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 20.

himself has given us large and particular accounts,[n] which it is not material here to insist upon. Above all, he endeavoured to settle him in the full belief and persuasion of the Christian religion, whereinto he had some insight before, and to ground him in the knowledge of the holy scriptures, as the best system of true wisdom and philosophy. Five years he continued Origen's disciple, when he was recalled into his own country. Being to take his leave, he made an oration before his master, and in a numerous auditory; wherein, as he gives Origen his just commendations, so he particularly blesses God for the happy advantages of his instructions,[o] and returns thanks to his tutelar and guardian angel, which, as it had superintended him from his birth, so had especially conducted him to so good a master: elegantly bewailing his departure from that school,[p] as a kind of banishment out of Paradise, a being turned, like the prodigal, out of his father's house, and a being carried captive as the Jews were into Babylon: concluding, that of all things upon earth, nothing could give so great an ease and consolation to his mind, as if his kind and benign angel would bring him back to that place again.

V. He was no sooner returned to Neocæsarea, but Origen followed him with a letter,[q] commending his excellent parts, able to render him either an eminent lawyer among the Romans, or a great philosopher among the Greeks, but especially persuading him to improve them to the ends of Christianity, and the practice of piety and virtue: for which purpose he lets him know, that he instructed him mainly in those sciences and parts of philosophy which might be introductory to the Christian religion, acquainting him with those things in geometry and astronomy which might be useful for the understanding and explaining the holy scriptures; these things being as previously advantageous to the knowledge of the Christian doctrine, as geometry, music, grammar, rhetoric, and astronomy are preparatory to the study of philosophy: advising him, before all things, to read the scripture, and that with the most profound and diligent attention, and not rashly to entertain notions of divine things, or to speak of them without solemn premeditation; and not only to *seek* but *knock*, to pray with faith and fervency, it being

[n] Panegyr. ad Orig. p. 63, 64.
[o] Ibid. p. 55, 57.
[p] Ibid. p. 74, 75.
[q] Extat. in Orig. Philocal. c. 13.

in vain to think that the door should be opened where prayer is not sent beforehand to unlock it. At his return, all men's eyes were upon him,[r] expecting that in public meetings he should shew himself, and let them reap some fruit of all his studies; and to this he was universally courted and importuned, and especially by the wise and great men of the city, entreating him to reside among them, and, by his excellent precepts and rules of life, to reform and direct the manners of men. But the modest young man, knowing how unfit they generally were to entertain the dictates of true philosophy, and fearing lest by a great concourse and applause he might be insensibly ensnared into pride and vain-glory, resisted all addresses, and withdrew himself into the wilderness, where he resigned up himself to solitude and contemplation, conversing with God and his own mind, and delighting his thoughts with the pleasant speculations of nature, and the curious and admirable works of the great artificer of the world.

VI. Neocæsarea was a place large and populous, but miserably overgrown with superstition and idolatry, so that it seemed the place where Satan's seat was, and whither Christianity had as yet scarce made its entrance, to the great grief and resentment of all good men, who heartily wished that religion and the fear of God were planted in that place. Phædimus,[s] bishop of Amasea, a neighbour city in that province, a man endued with a prophetic spirit, had cast his eye upon our young philosopher, as one whose ripe parts and piety did more than weigh down his want of age, and rendered him a person fit to be a guide of souls to the place of his nativity, whose relation to the place would more endear the employment to him. The notice hereof being intimated to him, he shifted his quarters, and, as oft as sought for, fled from one desert and solitary shelter to another, so that the good man, by all his arts and industry, could not lay hold of him, the one not being more earnest to find him out, than the other was vigilant to decline him. Phædimus at last despairing to meet with him, resolved however to go on with his design; and being acted ὁρμῇ τινι θειοτέρᾳ, by a divine and immediate impetus, betook himself to this pious stratagem, (the like precedent probably not to be met with in the antiquities of the church,) not regarding Gregorius's absence, (who

[r] Greg. Nyss. in vit. Greg. Thaum. vol. iii. p. 543. [s] Id. ibid. p. 544.

was at that time no less than three days' journey distant from him,) he made his address and prayer to God, and having declared that both himself and Gregory were at that moment equally seen by God, as if they were present, instead of imposition of hands, he directed a discourse to St. Gregory, wherein he set him apart to God, and constituted him bishop of that place; and God, who steers the hearts of men, inclined him, how averse soever before, to accept the charge, when, probably, he had a more formal and solemn consecration.

VII. The province he entered upon was difficult, the city and parts thereabouts being wholly given to the worship of demons,[t] and enslaved to the observance of diabolic rites, there not being above seventeen Christians in those parts, so that he must found a church before he could govern it; and, which was not the least inconvenience, heresies had spread themselves over those countries, and he himself, though accomplished with a sufficient furniture of human learning, yet altogether unexercised in theological studies, and the mysteries of religion. For remedy whereof, he is said to have had an immediate assistance from heaven. For while one night he was deeply considering of these things, and discussing matters of faith in his own mind, he had a vision, wherein two august and venerable persons (whom he understood to be St. John the Evangelist and the blessed Virgin) appeared in the chamber where he was, and discoursed before him concerning those points of faith, which he had been before debating with himself: after whose departure, he immediately penned that canon and rule of faith which they had declared, and which he ever after made the standard of his doctrine, and bequeathed, as an inestimable legacy and *depositum*, to his successors, the tenor whereof we shall here insert, together with the original Greek; which, being very difficult to be exactly rendered into our language, the learned reader (if he likes not mine) may translate for himself.

Εἷς Θεὸς πατὴρ λόγου ζῶντος, σοφίας ὑφεστώσης καὶ δυνάμεως, καὶ χαρακτῆρος ἀϊδίου· τέλειος, τελείου γεννήτωρ· πατὴρ υἱοῦ μονογενοῦς. Εἷς

"There is one God, the Father of the living Word, and of the subsisting Wisdom and Power, and of Him who is his Eternal Image, the perfect be-

[t] Greg. Nyss. in vit. Greg. Thaum. vol. iii. p. 545.

κύριος, μόνος ἐκ μόνου, Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ· χαρακτὴρ καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς θεότητος, λόγος ἐνεργὸς, σοφία τῆς τῶν ὅλων συστάσεως περιεκτικὴ, καὶ δύναμις τῆς ὅλης κτίσεως ποιητικὴ, υἱὸς ἀληθινὸς ἀληθινοῦ πατρός· ἀόρατος ἀοράτου, καὶ ἄφθαρτος ἀφθάρτου, καὶ ἀθάνατος ἀθανάτου, καὶ ἀΐδιος ἀϊδίου. Καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἐκ Θεοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον, καὶ δι' υἱοῦ πεφηνὸς, δηλαδὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· εἰκὼν τοῦ υἱοῦ, τελείου τελεία ζωὴ, ζώντων αἰτία· πηγὴ ἁγία, ἁγιότης, ἁγιασμοῦ χορηγός· ἐν ᾧ φανεροῦται Θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι· Καὶ Θεὸς ὁ υἱὸς, ὁ διὰ πάντων· Τριὰς τελεία, δόξῃ καὶ ἀϊδιότητι καὶ βασιλείᾳ, μὴ μεριζομένη, μηδὲ ἀπαλλοτριουμένη.

getter of Him that is perfect, the Father of the only begotten Son. There is one Lord, the only [Son] of the only [Father] God of God, the character and image of the Godhead, the powerful Word, the comprehensive Wisdom, by which all things were made, and the Power that gave being to the whole creation, the true Son of the true Father, the Invisible of the Invisible, the Incorruptible of the Incorruptible, the Immortal of the Immortal, and the Eternal of Him that is Eternal. There is one Holy Ghost, having its subsistence of God, which appeared through the Son to mankind, the perfect Image of the perfect Son, the Life-giving Life, the holy Fountain, the Sanctity, and the Author of sanctification: by whom God the Father is made manifest, who is over all, and in all; and God the Son, who is through all. A perfect Trinity, which neither in glory, eternity, or dominion is divided, or separated from itself."

To this creed he always kept himself; the original whereof, written with his own hand, my author assures us was preserved in that church in his time.

VIII. Thus incomparably furnished, he began to apply himself more directly to the charge committed to him, in the happy success whereof he was infinitely advantaged by a power of working miracles (so much talked of among the ancients) bestowed upon him. As he was returning home from the wilderness,[u] being benighted, and overtaken with a storm, he, together with his company, turned aside to shelter themselves in a Gen-

[u] Greg. Nyss. in vit. Greg. Thaum. vol. iii. p. 548.

tile temple, famous for oracles and divinations, where they spent the night in prayers and hymns to God. Early in the morning came the Gentile priest to pay the accustomed devotions to the demons of the place, who had told them, it seems, that they must henceforth relinquish it by reason of him that lodged there; he made his lustrations, and offered his sacrifices, but all in vain, the demons being deaf to all importunities and invocations. Whereupon he burst out into a rage and passion, exclaiming against the holy man, and threatening to complain of him to the magistrates and the emperor. But when he saw him generously despising all his threatenings, and invested with a power of commanding demons in and out at pleasure, he turned his fury into admiration, and entreated the bishop, as a further evidence of that divine authority that attended him, to bring the demons once more back again into the temple: for whose satisfaction he is said to have torn off a piece of paper, and therein to have written these words, "Gregory to Satan, enter." Which schedule was no sooner laid upon the altar, and the usual incense and oblations made, but the demons appeared again as they were wont to do. Whereby he was plainly convinced that it was an authority superior to all infernal powers, and accordingly resolved to accompany him; but being unsatisfied in some parts of the Christian doctrine, was fully brought over, after he had seen St. Gregory confirm his discourses by another evident miracle; whereupon he freely forsook house and home, friends and relations, and resigned up himself to the instructions of his divine wisdom and philosophy.

IX. The fame of his strange and miraculous actions had prepared the people of Neocæsarea to entertain him with a prodigious reverence and regard,[x] the people generally flocking out of the city to meet him, every one being ambitious to see the person of whom such great things were spoken. He, unconcerned in the applause and expectations of all the spectators that were about him, without so much as casting his eye on the one side or the other, passed directly through the midst of the crowds into the city: whither being come, his friends that had accompanied him out of his solitudes, were very solicitous where and by whom he should be entertained. But he, reproving their anxiety, asked them, whether they thought themselves banished

[x] Greg. Nyss. in vit. Greg. Thaum. vol. iii. p. 551.

the divine protection? whether God's providence was not the best and safest refuge and habitation? that whatever became of their bodies, it was of infinitely more importance to look after their minds, as the only fit and proper habitations, which were by the virtues of a good life to be trimmed and prepared, furnished, and built up for heaven. But there wanted not many, who were ready enough to set open their doors to so welcome a guest; among which especially was Musonius, a person of greatest honour, estate, and power in the city, who entreated him to honour his house with his presence, and to take up his lodging there: whose kindness, as being first offered, he accepted, dismissing the rest with a grateful acknowledgment of that civility and respect which they had offered to him.

X. It was no little abatement to the good man's joy, to think in what a profane and idolatrous place his lot was fallen, and that therefore it concerned him to lose no time. Accordingly, that very day, he fell to preaching,[y] and, with so good success, that before night he had converted a little church. Early the next morning the doors were crowded, persons of all ranks, ages, infirmities, and distempers flocking to him, upon whom he wrought two cures at once, healing both soul and body, instructing their minds, convincing their errors, reclaiming and reforming their manners, and that with ease; because at the same time strengthening the infirm, curing the sick, healing the diseased, banishing demons out of the possessed; men greedily embracing the religion he taught, while they beheld such sensible demonstrations of its power and divinity before their eyes, and heard nothing reported but what was verified by the testimony of their own senses. Having thus prepared a numerous congregation, his next care was to erect a church, where they might assemble for the public solemnities of religion, which by the cheerful contributions of some, and the industrious labour of others, was in a little time both begun and finished. And the foundations of it seem to have been laid upon a firmer basis than other buildings, seeing it out-stood not only earthquakes, frequent in those parts, but the violent storm of Dioclesian's reign, who commanded the churches of the Christians in all places to be demolished; and was still standing in Gregory Nyssen's time, who further tells us, that when a terrible earthquake lately

[y] Greg. Nyss. in vit. Greg. Thaum. vol. iii. p. 555.

happened in that place, wherewith almost all the buildings both public and private were destroyed and ruined, this church only remained entire, and not the least stone was shaken to the ground.

XI. St. Gregory Nyssen reports one more memorable passage than the rest;[s] which at his first coming to the place made his conversion of the people much more quick and easy. There was a public festival held in honour of one of the gods of that country, whereto not only the Neocæsareans, but all the inhabitants of the neighbour-country came in, and that in such infinite numbers, that the theatre was quickly full, and the crowd so great, and the noise so confused and loud, that the shows could not begin, nor the solemn rites be performed. The people hereupon universally cried out to the demon, "Jupiter, we beseech thee, make us room." St. Gregory, being told of this, sent them this message, that their prayer would be granted, and that greater room would be quickly made them than they desired. Immediately a terrible plague brake in upon them, that turned their music into weeping, and filled all places with cries and dying groans. The distemper spread like wild-fire, and persons were sick and dead in a few moments. The temples, whither many fled in hopes of cure, were filled with carcases; the fountains and the ditches, whither the heat and fervour of the infection had led them to quench their thirst, were dammed up with the multitudes of those that fell into them; some of their own accord went and sat among the tombs, securing a sepulchre to themselves, there not being living enough to perform the last offices to the dead. The cause of this sad calamity being understood, that it proceeded from their rash and foolish invocation of the demon, they addressed themselves to the bishop, entreating him to intercede with his God (whom they believed to be a more potent and superior Being) in their behalf, that he would restrain that violent distemper that raged amongst them. He did so, and the pestilence abated, and the destroying angel took his leave. And the issue was, that the people generally deserted their temples, oracles, sacrifices, and the idolatrous rites of their religion, and took sanctuary in Christianity, as the securest refuge, and the best way to oblige heaven to protect them.

XII. His known prudence, and the reputation of his mighty,

[s] Greg. Nyss. in vit. Greg. Thaum. vol. iii. p. 575.

and (as my author calls them[a]) *apostolical* miracles, advanced him into so much favour and veneration with the people, that they looked upon whatever he said or did, as the effect of a divine power. And even in secular causes, where the case was any thing knotty and difficult, it was usually brought to him, whose sentence was accounted more just and impartial, more firm and valid, than any other decision whatsoever. It happened that two brothers were at law about a lake, which both challenged as belonging to that part of their inheritance their father had left them. The umpirage of the case was left to him; who, by all the persuasive arts of insinuation, first endeavoured to reconcile them, and peaceably to accommodate the difference between them. But his pains proved fruitless and ineffectual, the young men stormed, and resolved each to maintain his right by force of arms; and a day was set when they were to try their titles by all the power which their tenants of each side could bring into the field. To prevent which, the holy bishop went the night before to the place, where he continued all night in the exercises of devotion, and by his prayers to heaven procured the lake to be turned into a parcel of dry and solid ground; removing thereby the bone of contention that was between them, the remains of which lake were shewed many ages after. Thus also he is said to have miraculously restrained the violence of the river Lycus,[b] which coming down from the mountains of Armenia with a swift rapid torrent, and swelled by the tributary concurrence of other rivers, fell down into a plain champaign country, where over-swelling, and sometimes breaking down its banks, it overflowed the country thereabouts, to the irreparable damage of the inhabitants, and very often to the hazard and loss of their lives. Unable to deal with it any other way, they apply themselves to St. Gregory, to improve his interest in heaven, that God, who alone "rules the raging of the sea," would put a stop to it. He goes along with them to the place, makes his address to him who has "set a bound to the waters, that they may not pass over, nor turn again to cover the earth," thrusts his staff down into the bank, and prayed that that might be the boundary of the insolent and raging stream, and so departed. And it took effect, the river ever after man-

[a] Greg. Nyss. in vit. Greg. Thaum. vol. iii. p. 554.

[b] Id. ibid. p. 558.

nerly keeping within its banks; and the tradition adds, that the staff itself grew up into a large spreading tree, and was shewed to travellers, together with the relation of the miracle in my author's days. In his return from Comana,[c] (whither he had been invited and importuned both by the magistrates and people, to constitute a fit person bishop of that city,) he was espied by two Jews, who, knowing his charitable temper, either out of covetousness, or a design to abuse him, agreed to put a trick upon him. To that purpose, one of them lies along upon the ground and feigns himself dead, the other deplores the miserable fate of his companion, and begs of the holy bishop, as he passed by, to give somewhat towards his burial; who taking off his coat that was upon him, cast it upon the man, and went on his way. No sooner was he gone out of sight, but the impostor came laughing to his fellow, bad him rise, and let them make themselves merry with the cheat. He called, pulled, and kicked him, but, alas, in vain; the comical sport ended in a real tragedy, the man was dead indeed, his breath expiring that very moment the garment was cast upon him, and so the coat really served for what he intended it, as a covering to his burial.

XIII. In an age so remote from the miraculous ages of the church, and after that the world has been so long abused by the impostures of a church pretending to miracles as one of the main notes and evidences of its catholicism and truth, these passages may possibly seem suspicious, and not obtain a very easy belief with the more scrupulous reader: to which perhaps it may be enough to say, at least to justify my relating them, that the things are reported by persons of undoubted credit and integrity; especially St. Basil and his brother Gregory, both of them wise and good men, and who lived themselves within less than an hundred years after our St. Gregory; and what is more considerable, were capable of deriving their intelligence from a surer hand than ordinary; their aged grandmother Macrina, who taught them in their youth, and superintended their education, having in her younger years been scholar and auditor of our St. Gregory; and from her, I doubt not, they received the most material passages of his life, and the account of his miracles, of many whereof she herself was capable of being an eye-witness, and wherewith she acquainted them, as she also did

[c] Greg. Nyss. in vit. Greg. Thaum. vol. iii. p. 565.

with the doctrine that he taught, wherein St. Basil particularly tells us she instructed them,[d] and told them the very words which she had heard from him, and which she perfectly remembered at that age. Besides that, his brother solemnly professes, in recounting this great man's miracles,[e] to set them down in a plain and naked relation, without any rhetorical arts to amplify and set them off, and to mention only some few of those great things that had been done by him, and purposely to suppress many yet in memory,[f] lest men of incredulous minds should disbelieve them, and count all fables which were above the standard of their sentiments and apprehensions. Indeed, as to the main of the thing, I might challenge the faith of all ages ever since, who have unanimously believed, and conveyed the report of it down to us; and upon this account the title of Thaumaturgus, the wonder-worker, is constantly aud uncontrollably ascribed to him in the writings of the church. And St. Basil assures us,[g] that upon this very account the Gentiles were wont to call him a second Moses; and that in his time he was had in such universal admiration among the people of that country, and his memory so fresh among them, that no time would be able to blot it out.

XIV. In this faithful and successful management of his place, he quietly continued till about the year 250; when the emperor Decius,[h] vexed to see the Christian religion so much get the ground of declining Paganism, published very severe edicts against the Christians, commanding the governors of provinces, as they valued their heads, to put them into a strict and rigorous execution; wherein Pontus and Cappadocia shared, if not deeper, to be sure equal with the rest. All other business seemed to give way to this: persecuting the Christians was the debate of all public councils, and the great care of magistrates, which did not vent itself in a few threatenings and hard words, but in studying methods of cruelty, and instruments of torment, the very apprehension whereof is dreadful and amazing to human nature; swords and axes, fire, wild beasts, stakes, and engines to stretch and distend the limbs; iron chairs made red hot; frames

[d] Ad Neocæsar. Epist. cciv. (al. lxxv.) s. 6. vol. iii. p. 306.
[e] Greg. Nyss. in vit. Greg. Thaum. vol. iii. p. 553.
[f] Ibid. p. 577.
[g] De Spir. Sanct. c. 29. s. 74. vol. iii. p. 62.
[h] Greg. Nyss. in vit. Greg. Thaum. vol. iii. p. 567.

of timber set up strait, in which the bodies of the tormented, as they stood, were raked with nails that tore off the flesh; and innumerable other arts daily invented, every great man being careful that another should not seem to be more fierce and cruel than himself. Some came in as informers, others as witnesses; some searched all private corners, others seized upon them that fled; and some, who gaped for their neighbours' estates, took hold of the opportunity to accuse and persecute them for being Christians. So that there was a general confusion and consternation, every man being afraid of his nearest relatives; the father not consulting the safety of his child, nor the child regarding its duty to its parents; the Gentile son betraying his Christian father, and the infidel father accusing his son for embracing Christianity; and the brother accounting it a piece of piety to violate the laws of nature in the cause of religion, and to condemn his own brother, because a Christian. By this means the woods became full, and the cities empty; and yet no sooner were many houses rid of their proper owners, but they were turned into common gaols, the public prisons not being able to contain the multitudes of Christians that were sent to them. You could not go into the markets, or places of usual concourse, but you might have seen some apprehended, others led to trial or execution, some weeping, others laughing and rejoicing at the common misery: no regard had to age, or sex, or virtue, or merit; but, as in a city stormed by a proud and potent conqueror, every thing was without mercy exposed to the rage and rudeness of a barbarous and inhuman enemy.

XV. St. Gregory, beholding the sad and calamitous state of the present time, and having considered seriously with himself the frailty and imbecility of human nature,[1] and how few (of his new converts especially) would be able to bear up under those fierce conflicts which the cause of religion would engage them in, timely advised his church a little to decline the force of the present storms, telling them it was better by flying to save their souls, than by abiding those furious trials to hazard their falling from the faith. And to let them see that this might be done, and that herein there was no prejudice to their souls, he resolved to shew them the way by his example, himself first retiring out of danger, retreating to a desert mountain, accom-

[1] Greg. Nyss. in vit. Greg. Thaum. vol. iii. p. 569.

panied with none but the Gentile priest whom he had converted, and who ministered to him in the capacity of a deacon. And it was but time he should withdraw, the enemy chiefly aiming at him as the head of the party, and laying all possible snares to take him. Being informed where he lay concealed, they went in vast numbers to hunt him out; some besetting round the foot of the mountain, that he might not escape; others going up, searched every place till they came very near him. He, persuading his deacon to a firm confidence of the divine protection, presently fell to prayer, as the other also did by his example, with eyes and hands lift up to heaven. The persecutors in the meantime pried into all places, examined every bush and shrub, every crevice of a rock, every nook and hole, but finding nothing, returned back to their companions at the bottom, hoping that by this time he might be fallen into their hands. And when the informer described the very place where he lay, they affirmed they saw nothing there but a couple of trees a little distant from each other. The company being gone, the informer stayed behind, and went directly to the place; where finding them at their devotions, and concluding their escape to be the immediate effect of a divine preservation, (God having blinded their eyes that they should not see them,) fell down at the bishop's feet, gave up himself to be a Christian, and a companion of his solitudes and dangers.

XVI. Despairing now of meeting with the shepherd,[k] the wolves fell with the fiercer rage upon the flock that stayed behind; and not there only, but ran up and down all parts of the province, seizing upon men, women, and children, that had but any reverence for the name of Christ, dragging them to the city, and casting them into prison, where they were sure to be entertained with variety of tortures. St. Gregory, in the mean time, remained in his solitary retirement; till God having mercifully commanded the storm to blow over, and the tyranny of the persecution to cease, he quitted his shady and melancholy walks, and came back to Neocæsarea, and visiting his diocese all about, established in every place anniversary festivals and solemnities, to do honour to the memory of the martyrs that had suffered in the late persecution: a great instance of his wisdom and prudence at that time, not only in doing right to the memory of

[k] Greg. Nyss. in vit. Greg. Thaum. vol. iii. p. 570.

the martyrs, but by this means training up people to a readier embracing of religion, when they saw that it indulged them a little mirth and freedom in the midst of those severe yokes that it put upon them. He had observed what advantage the idolatry of the Gentiles made by permitting its votaries liberty (indeed licentiousness) in their religious solemnities, and he reasonably presumed it would be no little encouragement to some to desert their superstitions, and come over to Christianity, if they were suffered to rejoice, and use a little more innocent freedom than at other times, which could not be better done than at the memorials of the martyrs, though it cannot be denied, but that this custom produced ill effects afterwards.

XVII. In the reign of the emperor Gallienus, about the year 260, and for some years before, God being (as Osorius truly enough conjectures[l]) offended with the cruel usage which the Christians met withal from the present powers, was resolved to punish the world: and to that end, did not only suffer Valerian the emperor (friendly enough at first, but afterwards a bitter persecutor of the Christians) to be betrayed into the hands of Sapor king of Persia, (who treated him with the highest instances of scorn and insolence,) but permitted the Northern nations,[m] like a mighty inundation, to break down the banks, and overflow most parts of the Roman empire. The Germans betook themselves some into Spain, others passed the Alps, and came through Italy as far as Ravenna; the Alemanni foraged France, and invaded Italy; the Quades and Sarmatæ wasted Pannonia; the Parthians fell into Mesopotamia and Syria; and the Goths broke in upon Pontus, Asia, and some parts of Greece. Intolerable were the outrages which these barbarous people committed wherever they came, but especially upon the Christians, whose goods they plundered, ravished their wives and daughters, tortured their persons, and compelled them to offer sacrifice and communicate in their idol-feasts: many of the renegadoes spoiling their fellow-Christians; and some, under a pretence of finding, stole or at least kept their neighbours' goods to their own use. In this general confusion, a neighbour bishop of those parts writes to St. Gregory of Neocæsarea, to beg his advice what to

[l] Hist. l. vii. c. 22.

[m] Trab. Poll. in vit. Gallien. c. 4, 5. vid. Zosim. Hist. l. i. c. 36. et Treb. Poll. in vit. Claud. c. 8.

do in this sad state of affairs: who, by Euphrosynus, sent back a canonical epistle (so often cited and magnified by the ancients, and still extant) to rectify these irregularities and disorders; wherein he prescribes the several stations and orders of penitents, but especially reproves and censures their inordinate avarice, shewing how uncomely it is in itself, how unsuitable to Christians, how abhorrent to God and all good men to covet and grasp what is another man's; and how much more barbarous and inhuman in this calamitous time to spoil the oppressed, and to enrich themselves by the blood and ruins of their miserable brethren. And because some might be apt to plead they did not steal, but only take up what they accidentally met with, he lets them know, that whatever they had found of their neighbours', nay, though it were their enemies', they were bound by God's law to restore it, much more to their brethren, who were fellow-sufferers with them in the same condition. And if any thought it were warrant enough to keep what they had found, though belonging to others, having been such deep losers themselves, he tells them, this is to justify one wickedness with another, and because the Goths had been enemies to them, they would become Goths and Barbarians unto others. Nay, many (as he tells us) joined in with the Barbarians in open persecuting, captivating, and tormenting of their brethren: in all which cases he pronounces them fit to be excluded the communion of the saints, and not to be readmitted till by a just penance, according to the various circumstances of the case, they had made public and solemn satisfaction to the church.

XVIII. Not long after this, Paulus of Samosata bishop of Antioch, began to broach very pernicious doctrines concerning the person of our blessed Saviour. To prevent the infection whereof, the most eminent of the bishops and clergy of all those parts frequently met in synod at Antioch; the chief of whom were Firmilian bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia,[n] our St. Gregory, and his brother Athenodorus, bishop also in Pontus, and some others. The synod being sat, and having canvassed the matter, the crafty heretic saw it was in vain to contend; and therefore, dissembling his errors as well as he could, he confessed what could not be hid, and by a feigned repentance salved his credit for the present, and secured his continuance in that ho-

[n] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 28.

nourable place he held in the church. This council was held Ann. Chr. 264; which our St. Gregory seems not long to have survived, dying either this, or most probably the following year. Nicephorus makes him to have lived to a very great age,[o] which he must, if (as he affirms) he died under Dioclesian; and Suidas,[p] by a mistake much more prodigious, makes him to decease in the reign of Julian. A little before his death, being sensible that his time drew near, he sent up and down the city and the vicinage to make a strict inquiry,[q] whether there were any that yet were strangers to the Christian faith. And being told, that there were but seventeen in all, he sighed, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, appealed to God how much it troubled him, that he should leave any part of men's salvation incomplete, but that withal it was a mercy that challenged the most grateful resentment, that when he himself had found but seventeen Christians at his first coming thither, he should leave but seventeen idolaters to his successor. Having heartily prayed for the conversion of infidels, and the increase and consummation of those that were converted, he calmly and peaceably resigned up his soul to God: having first enjoined his friends to make no trouble about his funeral, nor procure him any proper and peculiar place of burial, but that, as in his life-time he had carried himself as a pilgrim and foreigner in the world, claiming nothing for himself, so after death he might enjoy the portion of a stranger, and be cast into the common lot.

XIX. He was a man (says St. Basil[r]) of a prophetical and apostolic temper, and who, in the whole course of his life, expressed the height and accuracy of an evangelical conversation. In all his devotions he was wont to shew the greatest reverence,[s] never covering his head in prayer, as accounting that of the apostle most proper and rational, that "every one praying or prophesying with his head covered, dishonoureth his head."[t] All oaths he avoided, making *yea* and *nay* the usual measure of his communication. Out of regard to our Lord's threatening, he durst never call his brother *fool;* no anger, wrath, or bitterness proceeded out of his mouth. Slandering and reproaching others

[o] Lib. vi. c. 17.
[p] In voc. Γρηγόριος.
[q] Greg. Nyss. in vit. Greg. Thaum. vol. iii. p. 574.
[r] De Spir. Sanct. c. 29. s. 74. vol. iii. p. 62.
[s] Id. ad Cler. Neocæs. Epist. ccvii. (al. lxiii.) s. 4. p. 311, 312.
[t] 1 Cor. xi. 4.

he greatly hated, as a quality opposite to a state of salvation. Envy and pride were strangers to his innocent and guileless soul. Never did he approach the holy altar, till first reconciled to his brother. He severely abominated lies and falsehood, and all cunning and artificial methods of detraction; well knowing that every lie is the spawn and issue of the Devil, and that God will destroy all those that speak lies.

XX. His writings are first particularly mentioned by St. Hierom,[u] who reckons up his Eucharistical Panegyric to Origen, his short, and (as he calls it) very useful Metaphrase upon Ecclesiastes, several Epistles, (in which doubtless his Canonical Epistle had the first place,) and his Creed, or short exposition of faith, which, though not taken notice of in some, is extant in other editions of St. Hierom's catalogue. All which (some of his epistles excepted) are still extant, and probably are all he ever wrote: for though there are other tracts commonly ascribed to him, yet without any great reason or evidence to warrant their legitimacy, whereof their strongest assertors are not very confident. It appears from St. Basil,[x] that he was by some of old suspected as inclining to Sabellianism, which confounded the persons in the holy Trinity, and that many sheltered themselves under his authority from an expression of his, affirming that "the Father and Son are two in the consideration of the mind, but one in person." For this St. Basil makes a large Apology, and shews that it was spoken in the heat of disputation against Ælian, a Gentile, *οὐ δογματικῶς, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιστικῶς*; not dogmatically, as a point of doctrine, but in haste and in the fervency of disputation, when judgment and consideration is not at leisure to weigh every thing by nice scruples; that his earnest desire to gain the Gentile made him less cautious and solicitous about exactness of words, and that he indulged something to the apprehensions of his adversary, that so he might get the better advantage upon him in the greater and more important principles; that this betrayed him into some unwary expressions, which the heretics of after-times improved to bad purposes, and strained to another sense than what was originally intended by him that spake them: that as to the particular charge of the Sabellian error,[y] he was so far

[u] De Script. in Theodor.

[x] Ad Prim. Eccles. Neocæsar. Epist. ccx. (al. lxiv.) s. 3. vol. iii. p. 314.

[y] Id. ibid.

from it, that it had been chiefly confuted and laid asleep by the evidence of that very doctrine which St. Gregory had preached, the memory whereof was preserved fresh among them. However, nothing can be more true and modest than what St. Hierom observes in such cases;[z] that it is great rashness and irreverence presently to charge the ancients with heresy for a few obnoxious expressions, since it may be they erred with a simple and an honest mind, or wrote them in another sense, or the passages have been since altered by ignorant transcribers; or they took less heed and care to deliver their minds with the utmost accuracy and exactness, while, as yet, men of perverse minds had not sown their tares, nor disturbed the church with the clamour of their disputations, nor infected men's minds with their poisonous and corrupt opinions.

[z] Apol. adv. Rufin. l. ii. vol. ii. par. ii. p. 401.

His writings.

Genuine.	*Supposititious.*
Πανηγυρικὸν εὐχαριστίας ad Origenem.	Ἡ κατὰ μέρος Πίστις.
Metaphrasis in Ecclesiastem.	Capita 12 de fide, cum Anathematismis.
Brevis expositio fidei.	In Annunciationem S. Dei Genitricis Sermones tres.
Epistola Canonica.	Sermo in Sancta Theophania.
Aliæ Epistolæ plures, quæ non extant.	Ad Tatianum de Anima λόγος κεφαλαιώδης.

THE LIFE OF SAINT DIONYSIUS,

BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.

The place of his nativity. His family and relations. His conversion, how. His studies under Origen. Whether a professed rhetorician. His succeeding Heraclas in the catechetic school. His being constituted bishop of Alexandria, and the time of it. A preparatory persecution at Alexandria, how begun. The severity of it. The martyrdom of Apollonia, and the fond honours done her in the church of Rome. The persecution continued and promoted by Decius's edicts. The miserable condition of the Christians. The sudden conversion and martyrdom of a guard of soldiers. Dionysius apprehended and carried into banishment, there to be beheaded. A pleasant account of his unexpected deliverance by means of a drunken rout. His retirement into the deserts. His return to Alexandria. The great number and quality of the Lapsed in the late persecution. The contests about this matter. Dionysius's judgment and practice herein. The case of Serapion. His dealing with Novatian about his schism, and the copy of his letter to him. His being engaged in the controversy about rebaptization, and great moderation in it. His letter to pope Sixtus about a person baptized by heretics. Valerianus the emperor's kindness to Christians. How turned to cruelty. Dionysius brought before Æmilian. His discourse with him, and resolute constancy. He is condemned to be banished. His transportation into the deserts of Libya. The success of his ministry there. Innumerable Barbarians converted to the faith. Gallienus's relaxing the persecution. His letter to Dionysius granting liberty to the Christians. Alexandria shut up by the usurpation of Æmilian. The divisions within, and siege without. The horrible pestilence at Alexandria; and the singular kindness and compassion of the Christians there above the Heathens. Dionysius's confutation of Sabellius. His unwary expressions, and the charge against him. His vindication, both by himself and by St. Athanasius. His writing against Nepos. Nepos who, and what his principles and followers. Dionysius's encounter with the heads of the party: his convincing and reducing them back to the orthodox church. His engaging in the controversy against Paulus Samosetanus. The loose, extravagant, and insolent temper and manners of that man. Dionysius's letter to the synod at Antioch concerning him. The success of that affair. Dionysius's death. His writings and epistles. The loss of them bewailed.

SAINT Dionysius was in all probability born at Alexandria, where his parents seem to have been persons of considerable note and quality,[a] and his father, and possibly his ancestors, to have

[a] Vid Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 11.

borne very honourable offices, and himself to have lived some time in great secular pomp and power. He was born and bred a Gentile, but by what particular occasion converted to Christianity, I know not, more than what we learn from a vision and voice that spake to him, mentioned by himself,[b] that by a diligent reading whatever books fell into his hand, and an impartial examination of the things contained in them, he was first brought over to the faith. Having passed his juvenile studies, he put himself under the institution of the renowned Origen,[c] the great master at that time at Alexandria, famous both for philosophic and Christian lectures: after which he is said by some to have publicly professed rhetoric and eloquence;[d] as indeed there seems a more peculiar vein of fancy and rhetoric to run through those fragments of his discourses which do yet remain. But I can scarce believe that the Dionysius mentioned by Anastasius and Maximus, and by them said of a rhetorician to be made bishop of Alexandria, to have been the same with ours, were it for no other reason, than that he is said to have written Scholia on the works of St. Denys the Areopagite, which we are well assured had no being in the world till many years after his time. Anno 232, Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, being dead, Heraclas, one of Origen's scholars, and his successor in the catechetic school, succeeded in his room; upon whose preferment, Dionysius, then presbyter of that church, was advanced to his place: wherein he discharged himself with so much care and diligence, such universal applause and satisfaction, that upon Heraclas's death, who sat fifteen or sixteen years, none was thought so fit to be again his successor as Dionysius; who accordingly entered upon that see, anno 246,[e] though Eusebius's Chronicon places it two years after, Philippi Imp. Ann. 5, expressly contrary to his history, where he assigns the third year of that emperor, for the time of his consecration to that place.

II. The first years of his episcopal charge were calm and peaceable, till Decius succeeding in the empire, anno 249, turned all into hurry and combustion; persecuting the Christians with the utmost violence, whereof the church of Alexandria had a

[b] Epist. ad Philem. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 7.

[c] Id. ibid. l. vi. c. 29. Hieron. de Script. in Dionys.

[d] Anastas. Sinait. Ὁδηγ. c. 22. Maxim. Schol. in c. 5. Dionys. Areop. de Cœlest. Hierarch. vol. ii. p. 24.

[e] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 35.

heavy portion. Indeed the persecution there had begun a year before,[f] while Philip the emperor was yet alive, upon this occasion: a certain Gentile priest or poet led the dance, exciting the people of that place (naturally prone to superstition) to revenge the quarrel of their gods. The multitude once raised, ran on with an uncontrollable fury, accounting cruelty to the Christians the only instance of piety to their gods. Immediately they lay hands upon one Metras, an aged man, who refusing to blapheme his Saviour, they beat him with clubs, pricked him in the face and eyes with sharp reeds, and afterwards leading him into the suburbs, stoned him. The next they seized on was a woman called Quinta, whom they carried to the temple, where having refused to worship the idol, she was dragged by the feet through the streets of the city over the sharp flints, dashed against great stones, scourged with whips, and in the same place despatched by the same death. Apollonia, an ancient virgin, being apprehended, had all her teeth dashed out, and was threatened to be burnt alive, who only begging a little respite, of her own accord cheerfully leaped into the flames. Incredible it is, (but that the case is evident from more instances than one,) with how fond a veneration the church of Rome celebrates the memory of this martyr.[g] They infinitely extol her for the nobility of her birth, the eminent piety and virtues of her life, her chastity, humility, frequent fastings, fervent devotions, &c. (though not one syllable of all this mentioned by any ancient writer;) bring in a voice from heaven styling her "the spouse of Christ," and telling her, that God had granted her what she had asked. They make her the tutelar goddess or guardian of all that are troubled with the tooth or headache, and, in many solemn offices of that church, pray that at her intercession God would cure them of those pains; nay, formally address their prayers to her, that she would intercede with God for them on that behalf, and "by her passion obtain for them" (they are the very words of the prayer) "the remission of all the sins which with teeth and mouth they had committed through gluttony and speaking." Innumerable are the miracles reported of her; and to me it seems a miracle, and to exceed all the rest, were it true, what is related of the vast number of her teeth. For besides those which are preserved

[f] Ep. ad Fab. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 41.

[g] Vid. Bolland. inter acta sanctor. ad Feb. 9.

among the relics of foreign churches, (which are not a few,) we are told,[h] that when king Edward, then afflicted with the tooth-ache, commanded that all St. Apollonia's teeth in the kingdom should be sought out and sent him; so many were brought in, that several great tuns could not hold them. It seems they were resolved to make her ample amends for those few teeth she lost at the time of her martyrdom. But it is time to return to the Alexandrian persecution, where they every where broke open the Christians' houses, taking away the best of their goods; and burning what was not worth the carrying away. A Christian could not stir out day or night, but they presently cried out, "Away with him to the fire." In which manner they continued, till quarrelling among themselves they fell foul upon one another, and gave the Christians a little breathing-time from the pursuits of their malice and inhumanity.

III. In this posture stood affairs when Decius, having usurped the empire, routed and killed his master Philip, his edict arrived at Alexandria, which gave new life to their rage and cruelty. And now they fall on afresh, and persons of all ages, qualities, and professions are accused, summoned, dragged, tortured, and executed with all imaginable severity; multitudes of whom Dionysius particularly reckons up,[i] together with the manner of their martyrdom and execution. Vast numbers, that fled for shelter to the woods and mountains,[k] met with a worse death abroad, than that which they sought to avoid at home, being famished with hunger and thirst, starved with cold, overrun with diseases, surprised by thieves, or worried by wild beasts, and many taken by the Arabs and barbarous Saracens, who reduced them into a state of slavery more miserable than death itself. In this evil time, though many revolted from the faith, yet others maintained their station with a firm and unshaken courage; and several who till that moment had been strangers and enemies to the Christian religion, on a sudden came in and publicly professed themselves Christians, in open defiance of those immediate dangers that attended it: whereof one instance may suffice. One who was thought to be a Christian, and ready to renounce his religion, being led into the place of judicature, Ammon, Zeno, and the rest of the military guard that stood at

[h] Vid. Chemnit. exam. Concil. Trid. par. iv. de reliq. SS. p. 672.

[i] Ep. ad Fab. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 41. [k] Id. ibid. c. 42.

the door, derided him as he was going in, gnashing upon him with their teeth, and making such grimaces, such mimic and antic gestures, that all men's eyes were upon them. When behold, on a sudden, before any one laid hand upon them, they came into open court, and unanimously professed themselves to be Christians: an accident wherewith the governors and the assessors upon the bench were strangely surprised and troubled. The condemned were cheerful and courageous, and most ready to undergo their torments, while the judges themselves were amazed and trembled. Sentence being passed upon them, they went out of court in a kind of pomp and state, rejoicing in the testimony they were to give to the faith, and that God would so gloriously triumph in their execution.

IV. St. Dionysius bore a part in the common tragedy, though God was pleased to preserve him from the last and severest act, as a person eminently useful to his church. No sooner had Sabinus the prefect received the imperial orders,[1] but he immediately despatched a *frumentarius*, or military officer, (whose place it was to seize delinquents, and inquire out seditious reports and practices against the state, and therefore particularly belonged to judges and governors of provinces,) to apprehend him. The serjeant went all about, and narrowly ransacked every corner, searching all ways and places where he thought he might hide himself, but in the mean time never searched his own house, concluding he would not dare to abide at home, and yet there he stayed four days together, expecting the officers coming thither. At length, being warned of God, he left his house, with his servants and some of the brethren that attended him, but not long after fell into the hands of the soldiers; and having received his sentence, was conducted by a guard under the command and conduct of a centurion and some other officers to Taposiris, a little town between Alexandria and Canopus, there probably to be beheaded with less noise and clamour. It happened, in the mean while, that Timotheus, one of his friends, knowing nothing of his apprehension, came to the house where he had been, and finding it empty, and a guard at the door, fled after him in a great amazement and distraction, whom a countryman meeting upon the road, inquired of him the cause why he made so much haste. He, probably supposing him

[1] Ep. Dionys. ad German. ibid. c. 40.

to have heard some news of them, gave him a broken and imperfect relation of the matter. The man was going to a wedding feast, (which there they were wont to keep all night,) and entering the house told his company what he had heard. They, heated with wine and elevated with mirth, rose all up and ran out of doors, and with a mighty clamour came towards the place where he was. The guard, hearing such a noise and confusion at that time of night, left their prisoner and ran away, whom the rabble coming in found in bed. The good man, supposing them to be thieves, was reaching his clothes that lay by him to give them: but they commanded him to rise presently and go along with them; whereat he besought them (understanding now the errand upon which they came) to dismiss him and depart, at least to be so kind to him, as to take the soldiers' office upon them, and themselves behead him. While he was thus passionately importuning them, they forced him to rise; and when he had thrown himself upon the ground, they began to drag him out by the hands and feet: but quitted him not long after, and returned, it is like, to their drunken sports. This tragi-comic scene thus over, Caius and Faustus, Peter and Paul, presbyters, and his fellow-prisoners, took him up, and leaving the town, set him upon an ass, and conveyed him away into a desolate and uncomfortable part of the deserts of Libya;[m] where he, together with Peter and Caius, lay concealed till the storm was over-past.

V. The persecution being in a great measure blown over, by the death of Decius, Dionysius came out of his solitudes, and returned to Alexandria, where he found the affairs of his church infinitely entangled and out of order, especially by reason of those great numbers that had denied the faith, and lapsed into idolatry in the late persecution; among which were many of the wealthy and the honourable, and who had places of authority and power; some freely renouncing; others so far degenerating from the gallantry of a Christian spirit, that when cited to appear and sacrifice to the gods, (as he tells us,[n]) they trembled, and looked as pale and ghastly, as if they had come not to offer, but to be made a sacrifice, insomuch that the very Gentiles derided and despised them. Most of these, after his return, sued to be readmitted to the communion of the church, which the eccle-

[m] Vid. Ep. Dionys. ad Domit. ap. Euseb. l. vii. c. 11.

[n] Ibid. l. vi. c. 41.

siastic discipline of those times did not easily allow of, especially after the Novatian principles began to prevail, which denied all communion to the lapsed, though expressing their sorrow by never so long and great a penance. Upon what occasion Novatus and his partner Novatian first started this rigorous and severe opinion, how eagerly Cyprian and the African bishops stickled against it, how far it was condemned both there and at Rome, in what cases and by what measures of penance the lapsed penitents were to be taken in, we have already noted in Cyprian's Life. St. Dionysius was of the moderate party, wherein he had the concurrence of most of the Eastern bishops, and he pleads the general judgment and practice of the holy martyrs,[o] many of whom had before their death received the lapsed, upon their repentance, again into the church, and had themselves freely communicated with them: whose judgment he thought it not reasonable should be despised, nor their practice controlled, nor the accustomed order overturned. Indeed, he himself had ever observed this course, and therefore, at the beginning of the persecution, had given order to the presbyters of the church to restore peace,[p] and give the eucharist to penitents, especially in danger of death, and where they had before earnestly desired it: which was done accordingly, as appears from the memorable instance of Serapion, an aged person, mentioned by him, who having lapsed in the time of persecution, had often desired reconciliation, but in that confused time could not obtain it: but being suddenly surprised by a summons of death, and having laid three days speechless, on the fourth had only so much use of his tongue restored him, as to bid his nephew, a boy that attended him, go for one of the presbyters, to give him absolution, without which he could not die. The presbyter was at that time sick, but pitying the man's case, gave the boy a little part of the consecrated eucharist, which he kept by him, bidding him moisten it, and put it into his mouth: which was no sooner done, but he breathed out his soul with unspeakable comfort and satisfaction, that he now died in communion with the church.

VI. Nor was his care herein confined to his single diocese, but he wrote letters about this matter to most of the eminent bishops and governors of the church. And that he might leave

[o] Ep. ad Fab. ibid. c. 42. [p] Ibid. c. 44.

nothing unattempted, he treated with Novatian (or, as he calls him, Novatus) himself, endeavouring, by all mild and gentle methods, to reduce him to the peace and order of the church. His epistle to him, being but short and very pathetical, we shall here subjoin.[q]

"Dionysius to Novatus our brother, greeting:

"Forasmuch as you yourself confess, you were unwillingly drawn into this schism, make it appear so by your willing and ready returning to the church. For better it were to suffer any thing, than that the church of God should be rent asunder. Nor is it less glorious to suffer martyrdom upon this account, than in the case of not sacrificing to idols. Yea, in my mind, much more honourable. For in the one case a man suffers only for his own soul, but in this he undergoes martyrdom for the whole church of God. And if now thou shalt persuade and reduce thy brethren to peace and concord, thy merit will outweigh thy crime. The one will not be charged to thy reproach, and the other will be mentioned to thy praise. And suppose thou shalt not be able to persuade them, yet however save thy own soul. I pray that thou mayest live peaceably, and farewell in the Lord."

VII. No sooner had he well rid his hands of this, but he was engaged in another controversy, which involved and disturbed the whole Christian church, I mean that concerning the rebaptizing those who had been baptized by heretics, so hotly disputed between St. Cyprian and Stephen bishop of Rome. Dionysius,[r] together with Firmilian bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and a great many others in the East, stood on Cyprian's side, maintaining that they ought to be baptized; but, however, carried himself in it with great temper and moderation; he distinguished between apostates who had received their baptism in the catholic church, and those upon their return they did not baptize, (as Cyprian also affirms,) but only admitted by imposition of hands; and this rule and practice, he tells us,[s] he had learned from his predecessor Heraclas: but then for pure heretics, who had no other baptism than what had been conferred by heretical persons, (which in reality was null and of no effect,)

[q] Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 45. [r] Ibid. l. vii. c. 5. [s] Ibid. c. 7.

these he thought fit to be entered into the church by catholic baptism. Besides that, he engaged more as a mediator than a party, writing to pope Stephen to use moderation in the case, as he did also to Sixtus his successor, and most other bishops of that time. Indeed, that he was not stiff and rigorous in his sentiments, may appear from the instance he relates in his epistle to pope Sixtus,[t] wherein he begs his advice. A certain man in his church, who went among the class of the faithful, both in his and his predecessor's days, beholding the form and manner of baptism as it was administered among the orthodox, came to Dionysius, and with tears bewailed his own case; and falling at his feet, confessed that the baptism which he had received among the heretics was nothing like this, but full of blasphemy and impiety; that for this reason he was infinitely troubled in conscience, and durst not lift up his eyes to heaven, begging that he might partake of the true and sincere baptism, and that grace and acceptation that was conferred by it. This Dionysius would not admit, telling him that his long communion with the church was equivalent to it; that he that had so often been present at the giving of thanks, and said Amen to the prayers of the congregation; that had stood before the holy table, and had taken the holy food into his hands, and been so very long partaker of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; that having done thus for so many years together, he durst not admit him to another baptism: bidding him to be of good cheer, and with a firm faith and a good conscience approach the holy sacrament: all which notwithstanding did not quiet the man's mind, but that still he drooped under his fears and scruples, durst not be present at the Lord's table, nor could hardly be persuaded to come to the public prayers. What answer Sixtus returned to this instance, is uncertain; but by this it is evident, that St. Dionysius was no zealot for the contrary opinion, though it must be confessed, there was something particular in this, that occurred not in ordinary cases, he presuming that so long a communion with the church, so continued and open a profession of the orthodox faith, did tantamount a being legally initiated and baptized into it.

VIII. In these contests he passed over the short reign of Gallus, Decius's successor; who, not taking warning by his pre-

[t] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 9.

decessor's error,[u] stumbled at the same stone. And when he found all things quiet and peaceable, must needs fall a persecuting the Christians, whose prayers with heaven secured the peace and prosperity of the empire. But this, alas, was but a preparatory storm to that which followed in the reign of Valerian, whom our Dionysius[x] makes to be the beast in the Revelation,[y] "to whom was given a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemies, and power was given unto him to continue forty and two months." He was at first extraordinarily kind to Christians beyond any of the precedent emperors, even those who were themselves accounted Christians: so that his whole family was full of pious and good men, and his house a kind of church. But this weather was too fair and benign to last long. Being seduced and deluded by an arch-magician of Egypt, he was prevailed with to fall from his kindness and to persecute the Christians, whom the conjurer represented as persons who, by wicked and execrable charms, hindered the emperor's prosperity, colouring his pretence from their power over demons, whose mischievous arts they obstructed, and whom they ordinarily banished with the speaking of a word; and persuading him that to urge the Gentile rites, to maintain lustrations, sacrifices, divinations by the blood and entrails of men and beasts, was the ready way to make him happy. Whereupon edicts were every where published against the Christians, and they without the least protection exposed to the common rage.

IX. Orders being come to Alexandria, Dionysius,[z] accompanied with some of his clergy, addressed himself to Æmilian the governor, who did not at first downright forbid him to hold their solemn assemblies, but endeavoured to persuade him to leave off that way of worship, presuming others would quickly follow his example. The answer he returned was short and apostolical, that "we must obey God rather than men;" openly assuring him, that he would worship the true God, and none but him, from which resolution he would never start, nor ever cease to be a Christian. The governor told them, that both by word and writing he had acquainted them with the great clemency of the emperors towards them, permitting them to be safe, if they would but act agreeably to nature, and adore the

[u] Dionys. Ep. ad Herm. ap. Euseb. l. vii. c. 1. [x] Ibid. c. 10. [y] Rev. xiii. 5.
[z] Ep. Dionys. ad Germ. ap. Euseb. l. vii. c. 11.

gods that were protectors of the empire, and he hoped they would be more grateful than to refuse it. The bishop replied, that every one worshipped those whom they thought to be gods; that as for themselves, they adored and served that one God, who is the Creator of the world, and who gave that government to the emperors, and to whom they offered up daily prayers for the permanency and stability of their empire: to which the other rejoined, that if he were a god, none hindered them from worshipping him together with them who were truly gods, they being enjoined to worship [not one, but] gods, and those whom all men owned to be so. Dionysius answered, "We cannot worship any other." "I see," replied Æmilian, "that you are a company of foolish and ungrateful people, and not sensible of the favour of our lords the emperors: wherefore you shall stay no longer in this city, but be sent to Cephro in the parts of Libya, for thither, according to the emperor's command, I resolve to banish you. Nor shall either you, or any of your sect, have leave to keep your meetings, or to frequent your *cœmeteria;* which if any dare to attempt, it shall be at his peril, and he shall be punished suitably to his crime. Be gone therefore to the place allotted you."

X. The sentence was speedily put into execution, Dionysius, though then sick, not being allowed one day's respite to recover himself, or provide for his journey thither. Indeed, when he came distinctly to understand the place of his exile, he was a little troubled, knowing it to be a place destitute of the society of good men, and perpetually exposed to the incursions of thieves and robbers; but was better satisfied when told that it was near a great and populous city, whose neighbourhood would furnish him with persons, both for converse and for opportunities of conversion. Cephro was the most rude and barbarous tract of the Libyan desert, and Colythius (which, as Nicephorus tells us,[a] was that particular part of it to which Dionysius was designed) the most uncomfortable, it is like, of all the rest. Thither therefore was he sent, whom great numbers of Christians quickly followed, partly from Alexandria, and partly out of other parts of Egypt. At his first arrival he was treated with rudeness and showers of stones, but had not been long there, before he not

[a] Lib. vi. c. 10.

only civilized their barbarous manners, but reclaimed them from idolatry, and brought them to embrace the Christian faith. And as he met with success, so he shifted his quarters, preaching up and down those wild and disconsolate parts, and turning the wilderness into a church. Nor could all the malice and threatenings of the governor hinder, but that the Christians still assembled at Alexandria, notwithstanding that their beloved bishop was ravished from them, and that Æmilian proceeded with the utmost rigour against all that were brought before him; killing many with all the arts of cruelty, keeping others for the rack and torment, loading them with chains, and thrusting them into squalid and nasty dungeons, forbidding any of their friends to come near them. Though even in the height of these afflictions God supported their spirits, and animated others to venture in, and to administer comfort and necessaries to them, not scrupling, though with the peril of their heads, to inter the bodies of the martyrs.

XI. How long Dionysius continued in his banishment, I find not; probably till Valerian was taken captive by the king of Persia, anno 259, when Gallienus his son ruled alone, who from the unhappiness of his father took the measures of his carriage towards the Christians: he saw that while he favoured the Christians, heaven smiled upon his designs, and things went on in a smooth and uninterrupted course; but when once he began to bear hard upon them, the tide turned, and the divine vengeance pursued and overtook them; and that therefore nothing could be more prudent and reasonable than to give a check to the present fury, and suffer them to go on securely in the exercise of their religion, which he did by this following edict:[b]

> "Emperor Cæsar P. Licinius Gallienus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, to Dionysius, Pinnas, Demetrius, and the rest of the bishops.

"We have given order that the indulgence of our bounty shall be extended throughout the world, that all religious places shall be freed from force and violence. Wherefore ye also may freely enjoy the benefit of our rescript, so as no man shall dare to vex or molest you, and what you now may lawfully enjoy

[b] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 13.

has been long since granted by us. And for this end Aurelius Cyrenius, our high steward, shall keep the copy of this edict which we have now granted."

The like rescript he also sent to other bishops, giving them the free leave of their *cœmeteria*, the places where they buried their dead, and often assembled for their religious solemnities, especially the memorials of the martyrs.

XII. Scarce was Dionysius quietly resettled at home, when he was alarum'd by another accident, which forced him for a while again, if not to retire, at least to keep so close, that he was not capable to execute his charge. Æmilianus the prefect,[c] partly by his own ambition, and partly forced by an unhappy accident wherein he was involved, took the empire upon him; the Roman army in Egypt joining with him, partly out of dislike to Gallienus, partly out of affection to Æmilian, who was a brisk active man. Immediately he seized upon the storehouses, that country being the common granary of the empire. Gallienus, being acquainted with the news, ordered Theodotus, his general, to march with an army into those parts, who besieged Alexandria, and reduced the city to great extremity: for they were not more vigorously assaulted by the enemy from without, than undermined by parties and factions within;[d] the city being divided into two factions, one contending for Gallienus, and the other for Æmilian. So that there was no converse nor commerce between them; Dionysius being compelled, in all his private affairs and the public concernment of his church, to transact with his friends by letters; it being safer, as he tells us, for a man to travel from East to West, than to pass from one part of Alexandria to another, so barbarous and inhuman were the outrages committed there. The issue was, that Gallienus's party prevailed to let in Theodotus and his army, who seized the tyrant, and sent him to the emperor, who caused him to be strangled in prison.

XIII. How stormy and tempestuous is the region of this lower world! one wave perpetually pressing upon the neck of another. The persecution was seconded by a civil war and a cruel famine, and that no sooner over, but a terrible plague followed close at

[c] Treb. Poll. in vit. Æmil. c. 22. et in vit. Gall. c. 4.

[d] Dionys. Ep. ad Hierach. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 21.

the heels of it; one of the most dreadful and amazing judgments which God sends upon mankind. It overran city and country, sweeping away what the fury of the late wars had left, there not having been known (saith the historian[e]) in any age so great a destruction of mankind. This pestilence (which some say came first out of Ethiopia[f]) began in the reign of Gallus and Volusian, and ever since, more or less, straggled over most parts of the Roman empire, and now kept its fatal residence at Alexandria, where, by an impartial severity, it mowed down both Gentiles and Christians, and turned the Paschal solemnity (it being then the time of Easter[g]) into days of weeping and mourning; all places were filled with dying groans, and sorrows either for friends already dead, or those that were ready to depart, it being now, as formerly under that great Egyptian plague, and something worse, "there was a great cry in Egypt, for there was not an house where there was not only one, but many dead."[h] In this sad and miserable time, how vastly different was the carriage of the Christians and the Heathens. The Christians, out of the superabundance of their kindness and charity, without any regard to their own health and life, boldly ventured into the thickest dangers, daily visiting, assisting, and ministering to their sick and infected brethren, cheerfully taking their pains and distempers upon them, and themselves expiring with them. And when many of those whom they thus attended, recovered and lived, they died themselves; as if, by a prodigious and unheard-of charity, they had willingly taken their diseases upon them, and died to save them from death. And these, the most considerable both of clergy and people, cheerfully embracing a death that deserved a title little less than that of martyrdom. They embraced the bodies of the dead, closed their eyes, laid them out, washed and dressed them up in their funeral weeds, took them upon their shoulders, and carried them to their graves, it not being long before others did the same offices for them. The Gentiles, on the contrary, put off all sense of humanity; when any began to fall sick, they presently cast them out, ran from their dearest friends and relations, and either left them half dead in

[e] Zosim. Hist. l. i. c. 26.

[f] Pomp. Læt. in vit. Galli. Eutrop. Hist. Rom. l. ix. p. 583. vol. i. inter hist. Rom. scriptt. ed. 1588.

[g] Dionys. ad Frntr. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 22.

[h] See Exod. xii. 30.

the highways, or threw them out as soon as they were dead, dreading to fall under the same infection, which yet, with all their care and diligence, they could not avoid.

XIV. Nor were these the only troubles the good man was exercised with, he had contests of another nature that swallowed up his time and care. Sabellius, a Libyan, born at Ptolemais, a city of Pentapolis, had lately started dangerous notions and opinions about the doctrine of the holy Trinity;[i] affirming the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be but one subsistence, one Person under three several names: which in the time of the Old Testament gave the law under the notion of the Father; in the New, was made man in the capacity of the Son; and descended afterwards upon the apostles in the quality of the Holy Ghost. Dionysius, as became a vigilant pastor of his flock, presently undertakes the man; and while he managed the cause with too much eagerness and fervency of disputation, he bent the stick too much the other way, asserting not only ἑτερότητα τῶν ὑποστάσεων,[j] a distinction of Persons, but οὐσίας διαφορὰν, a difference of essence, and an inequality of power and glory. For which he is severely censured by St. Basil, and some of the ancients, as one of those that mainly opened the gap to those Arian impieties that after broke in upon the world. Though St. Basil could not but so far do him right,[k] as to say, that it was not any ill meaning, but only an over-vehement desire to oppose his adversary that betrayed him into those unwary and inconsiderate assertions. Some bishops of Pentapolis immediately took hold of this, and going over to Rome represented his dangerous errors; where the case was discussed in a synod, and letters written to Dionysius about it, who in a set Apology answered for himself, and declared his sense more explicitly in this controversy; as may be seen at large in Athanasius,[l] who has with infinite pains vindicated our Dionysius, his predecessor, as a man sound and orthodox, and who was never condemned by the governors of the church for impious opinions, or that he held those abominable tenets which Arius broached afterwards. And certainly St. Basil might and would have passed a milder censure, had he either perused all Dionysius's writings, or re-

[i] Dion. Ep. ad Steph. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 6. Niceph. l. vi. c. 26.
[j] Basil. ad Maxim. Philos. Epist. ix. (al. xli.) s. 2. vol. iii. p. 90. [k] Ibid.
[l] De Sentent. Dionys. vol. i. p. 243, etc. Vid. Phot. Cod. CCXXXII.

membered how much he concerned himself to clear St. Gregory of Neocæsarea, Dionysius's contemporary, from the very same charge, for which he could not but confess he had given too just occasion.

XV. No sooner was this controversy a little over, but he was engaged in another. Nepos,[m] an Egyptian bishop, lately dead, (a man eminent for his constancy in the faith, his industry and skill in the holy scriptures, the many psalms and hymns he had composed, which the brethren sung in their public meetings,) had not long since fallen into the error of the Millenaries, and had published books, to shew that the promises made in the scriptures to good men were *Ἰουδαϊκώτερον*, according to the sense and opinion of the Jews to be literally understood, and that there was to be a thousand years state upon earth, wherein they were to enjoy sensual pleasures and delights: endeavouring to make good his assertions from some passages in St. John's Revelation; styling his book *Ἔλεγχος ἀλληγοριστῶν*, "A Confutation of Allegorical Expositors." This book was greedily caught up and read by many, and advanced into that esteem and reputation, that law and prophets, and the writings of the evangelists and apostles, were neglected and thrown aside, and the doctrine of this book cried up, as containing *μέγά τι καὶ κεκρυμμένον μυστήριον*, some great and extraordinary mystery, concealed before from the world: the more simple and unwary being taught to disband all sublime and magnificent thoughts of our Lord's glorious coming, the resurrection and final judgment, and our conformity to him in glory, and to hope for a state in the kingdom of God wherein they should be entertained with such little and trifling, such fading and transitory things, as this world does afford. Dionysius being then in the province of the Arsenoitæ, where this opinion had prevailed so far as to draw whole churches into schism and separation, summoned the presbyters and teachers, who preached in the country villages, and as many of the people as had a mind to come, advising them, that in their sermons they would publicly examine this doctrine. They presently defended themselves with this book: whereupon he began more closely to join issue with them, continuing with them three days together, from morning to night, weighing and discussing the doctrines contained

[m] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 24.

in it: in all which time he admired their constancy and love to truth, their great quickness and readiness of understanding, with so much order and decency, so much modesty and moderation were the discourses managed on both sides, doubts propounded, and assent yielded. For they took an especial care not pertinaciously to defend their former opinions, when once they found them to be erroneous, nor to shun any objections which on either part were made against them. As near as might be they kept to the present question, which they endeavoured to make good; but if convinced by argument that they were in the wrong, made no scruple to change their minds, and go over to the other side, with honest minds, and sincere intentions, and hearts truly devoted to God, embracing whatever was demonstrated by the holy scriptures. The issue was, that Coracion, the commander and champion of the other party, publicly promised and protested before them all, that he would not henceforth either entertain, or dispute, or discourse, or preach these opinions, being sufficiently convinced by the arguments which the other side had offered to him: all the brethren departing, with mutual love, unanimity, and satisfaction. Such was the peaceable conclusion of this meeting, and less could not be expected from such pious and honest souls, such wise and regular disputers. And happy had it been for the Christian world, had all those controversies that have disturbed the church been managed by such prudent and orderly debates, which, as usually conducted, rather widen the breach than heal and mend it. Dionysius, to strike the controversy dead, while his hand was in, wrote a book "Concerning the Promises," (which St. Hierom, forgetting what he had truly said elsewhere,[n] that it was written against Nepos, tells us[o] was written against Irenæus bishop of Lyons, mistaking the person probably for his opinion,) in the first part whereof he stated the question, laid down his sense concerning it; in the second he treated concerning the Revelation of St. John, (the main pillar and buttress of this opinion,) where, both by reason and the testimony of others, he contends that it was not written by St. John the Apostle and Evangelist, but by another of that name, an account of whose judgment herein we have represented in another place.[p]

[n] De Script. in Dionys. [o] Præfat. in l. xviii. Com. in Esai. vol. iii. p. 476.
[p] Antiq. Apost. Life of St. John, num. 14.

XVI. The last controversy wherein he was concerned, was that against Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, who had confidently vented these and such-like impious *dogmata*:[q] that there is but one person in the Godhead; that our blessed Saviour was, though a holy, yet a mere man, who came not down from heaven, but was of a mere earthly extract and original, in whom the Word (which he made not any thing distinct from the Father) did sometimes reside, and sometimes depart from him; with abundance of the like wicked and senseless propositions. Besides all which, he was infinitely obnoxious in his morals,[r] (as few men but serve the design of some lust by schism and bad opinions,) covetous without any bounds, heaping up a vast estate, (though born a poor man's son,) partly by fraud and sacrilege, partly by cruel and unjust vexations of his brethren, partly by fomenting differences, and taking bribes to assist the weaker party. Proud and vain-glorious he was beyond all measure, affecting pomp, and train, and secular power, and rather to be styled a temporal prince than a bishop; going through the streets and all public places in solemn state, with persons walking before him, and crowds of people following after him. In the church he caused to be erected a throne higher than ordinary, and a place which he called *secretum*, after the manner of civil magistrates, who in the inner part of the *prætorium* had a place railed in, with curtains hung before it, where they sat to hear causes. He was wont to clap his hand upon his thigh, and to stamp with his feet upon the bench, frowning upon and reproaching those who did not theatrically shout and make a noise while he was discoursing to them; wherein he used also to reflect upon his predecessors and the most eminent persons that had been before him, with all imaginable scorn and petulancy, magnifying himself as far beyond them. The hymns that were ordinarily sung in honour of our Lord, he abolished as late and novel, and instead thereof taught some of his proselyted females upon the Easter solemnity to chaunt out some which he had composed in his own commendation, to the horror and astonishment of all that heard them; procuring the bishops and presbyters of the neighbouring parts to publish the same things of

[q] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 27. Epiph. Hæres. l. lxv. c. 1. Athanas. de Synod. Arim. et Seleuc. a. 43. vol. i. p. 757. Niceph. l. vi. c. 27.

[r] Epist. Synod. ii. Antioch. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 30.

him in their sermons to the people, some of his proselytes not sticking to affirm, that he was an angel come down from heaven. All which he was so far from controlling, that he highly encouraged them, and heard them himself not only with patience but delight. He was moreover vehemently suspected of incontinency, maintaining *συνεισάκτους γυναῖκας*, "subintroduced women," in his house, and some of them persons of exquisite beauty, contrary to the canons of the church, and to the great scandal of religion. And that he might not be much reproached by those that were about him, he endeavoured to debauch his clergy, conniving at their vices and irregularities, and corrupting others with pensions; and whom he could not prevail with by evil arts, he awed by power, and his mighty interest in the princes and great ones of those parts, so that they were forced with sadness to bewail at home, what they durst not publish and declare abroad.

XVII. To rectify these enormities, most of the chief bishops of the East resolved to meet in a synod at Antioch,[s] to which they earnestly invited our Dionysius. But, alas, age and infirmities had rendered him incapable of such a journey, and had given him a writ of ease, upon which account he begged to be excused from it. But that he might not be wanting in what he could, he sent letters, wherein he declared his sense and opinion of those matters; and in his epistle to the church of Antioch, to shew his resentment of the thing, he not only wrote not to the man, but gave him not so much as the civility of a salutation. In this synod the crafty fox hid his head, dissembling his sentiments, and palliating his disorders, and confessing and recanting what he was not able to conceal, so that for the present he still continued in his place. How he was afterwards discovered and laid open, convicted, condemned, and deposed in another synod in that city, and Domnus substituted in his room; how he refused to submit to the sentence of the council, and for some time maintained his station by the power of Zenobia, a queen in those parts, and a Jewish proselyte, whose favour he had courted and obtained; and how at last, upon the bishops' appeal, he was turned out, and the synodical decree executed by the immediate order of the emperor Valerian, is without the limits of my business to inquire.

[s] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 27. et c. 30.

XVIII. A little after this first synod at Antioch died our St. Denys, in the twelfth year of Gallienus,[t] anno 265, when he had sitten seventeen years bishop of Alexandria, dying probably the same year and on the same day with St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, whose memories are accordingly celebrated September 17, in the calendar of the Roman church. His memory was continued at Alexandria (as we learn from Epiphanius[u]) by a church dedicated to him, but flourished much more in the incomparable virtues of his past life, and those excellent writings he left behind him, which mainly consisted of vast numbers of epistles; and it is probable all his writings were nothing else, his larger tracts being written in the nature of epistles: which, were they still extant, instead of those little fragments preserved by Eusebius, besides other advantages, they would probably furnish us with the most material transactions of the Christian world in those times, than which in those early ages there was not a more active and busy period of the church.

[t] Vid. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 28.

[u] Hæres. lxix. c. 2.

His Writings, whereof some fragments only are now extant.

Liber de Pœnitentia ad Cononem episcopum Hermapolitanum.
Libellus de martyrio ad Origenem.
De Promissionibus adversus Nepotem, libri duo.
Ad Dionysium Romanum adversus Sabellium, libri quatuor.
Ad Timotheum libri de natura.
De tentationibus liber ad Euphran.
Commentarius in primam partem Ecclesiastis.
Epistola ad Cornelium episcopum Romanum.
Epistola ad Stephanum episc. Rom. de Baptismo.
Ad Sixtum Papam de baptismo, epistolæ tres.
Adversus Germanum episc. epistola.
Epistola ad Fabium Antiochiæ episc.
Epistola ad Novatianum de schismate.
Epistola de pœnitentia ad fratres per Ægyptum constitutos.
Ad gregem suum Alexandrinum epistola objurgatoria.
Epistola ad Laodicenos.
Epistola ad Armenios de pœnitentia.
Epistola ad Romanos διακονικὴ.
Alia ad eosdem de pace et pœnitent.
Ad confessores Novatianos Romæ, epistolæ tres.
Ad Philemonem Presbyterum Romanum de baptismo.
Epistola itidem ad Dionysium presbyterum Rom. de baptismo.
Epistola suo et ecclesiæ suæ nomine ad Sixtum et Eccl. Rom. de eadem re.
Ad Dionysium Romanum de Luciano, epistola.
Epistola ad Hermammonem.
Epistola ad Domitium et Didymum.
Epistola ad compresbyteros Alexand.
Epistola ad Hieracem episc. Ægyptiac.
Epistola de sabbato.
Epistola de mortalitate.
De Exercitatione epistola.
Epistola ad Ammonem Bernenicensem episcopum, contra Sabellium.
Alia ad Telesphorum.

Ad Euphranorem alia.

Ad Ammonem et Euporum, epistola.

Ad Basilidem episcopum Pentapolit.

Epistolæ plures. *Ex his superest epistola canonica de diversis capitibus. Extat Gr. L.* vol. i. *Concil. alibi et cum commentario Balsamonis.*

Epistolæ Ἑορταστικαί, seu Paschales plurimæ.

Epistola ad ecclesiam Antiochenam adversus Paulum Samosatenum.

Doubtful, or rather Supposititious.

Epistola ad Paulum Samosetanum, Gr. L. Concil. vol. i.

Responsiones ad Pauli Samosetani decem Quæstiones, Gr. L. ibid.

A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

FIRST THREE AGES

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
1	Augusti. 43	C. Julius Cæsar Vespanianus. L. Æmil. Paulus.	*Our Lord's circumcision. His being presented in the temple. His flight into Egypt. The massacre of the infants at Bethlehem. The death of Herod about the time of the passover.
2	44	P. Vinicius Nepos. P. Alphinius Varus.	Archelaus declared tetrarch of Judea.
3	45	L. Ælius Lamia. L. Servilius Geminus.	In the beginning of this (or rather the end of the foregoing year) our Lord returned out of Egypt. His education, and abode at Nazareth.
4	46	Sex. Ælius Catus. C. Sentius Saturninus.	Augustus refuses the title of Lord.
5	47	L. Valerius Messala. Cn. Cornelius Cinna.	Great earthquakes happened. Tiber overflows. An eclipse of the sun, March 28.

* Our Lord is generally supposed to have been born Decem. 25, six days before the commencement of the common era, Ann. Augusti Imp. 42. For though in strictness, the 42nd year of Augustus ended Nov. 27, (accounting his reign from his entering upon the Triumvirate,) yet seeing the civil Roman year expired not till the last of December, it may be said to extend all that time. His 43rd year in common reckoning, and the first year of the vulgar era of our Lord, commencing Jan. 1, when the Romans began their year, and the new consuls took place.

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
6	Augusti. 48	M. Æmil. Lepidus. L. Arruntius Nepos.	About this time, the Jews and Samaritans accused Archelaus to Augustus, who banished him to Vienne in France.
7	49	A. Licinius Nerva. Q. Cec. Metellus Creticus.	
8	50	M. Furius Camillus. S. Nonius Quinctilianus.	
9	51	Q. Sulp. Camerinus. C. Poppæus Sabinus.	
10	52	P. Corn. Dolabella. C. Junius Silanus.	
11	53	M. Æmil. Lepidus. T. Statilius Taurus.	The Jews taxed by Quirinus the Roman governor. In those days rose up Judas of Galilee, and drew away much people after him. He is slain, and his two sons crucified.
12	54	T. Germanicus Cæsar. C, Fonteius Capito.	By occasion of the passover, our Lord goes up with his parents to Jerusalem, and there disputes with the rabbis in the temple.
13	55	C. Silius Nepos. L. Munacius Plancus.	Augustus solemnly makes his will, and lays it up with the vestal virgins.
14	56 Tiberius ab Aug. 19. 1	Sex. Pompeius Nepos. Sex. Apuleius Nepos.	Augustus dies, and is interred with great funeral honours. Serv. Numerius affirms upon his oath, that he saw him ascend into heaven.
15	1 2	Drusus J. Cæsar. C. Norbanus Flaccus.	
16	2 3	T. Statil. Sesenna. L. Scribonius Libo.	The magicians and mathematicians banished Rome by Tiberius.
17	3 4	C. Cælius Rufus. L. Pomponius Flaccus.	
18	4 5	Cl. Tib. Nero III. D. German. Cæsar II.	
19	5 6	M. Junius Silanus. L. Norbanus Balbus.	Josephus, called Caiaphas, made high-priest of the Jews by the favour of Valerius Gratus the Roman governor.
20	6 7	L. Valerius Messala. M. Aurelius Cotta.	
21	7 8	Cl. Tib. Nero IV. Drusus J. Cæsar II.	

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
22	Tiberii. 8 9	C. Sulpicius Galba. D. Haterius Agrippa.	
23	9 10	C. Asinius Pollio. C. Antistius Vetus.	
24	10 11	Sex. Cornel. Cethegus. D. Vitellius Varro.	
25	11 12	Cossus Cornel. Lentulus. M. Asinius Agrippa.	Towards the end of this year Pontius Pilate is sent to be procurator of Judea.
26	12 13	Cn. Cornel. Lentulus. Gæt. C. Calvisius Sabinus.	Pilate commands the Roman standards, with the image of Tiberius upon them, to be brought into the temple, to the great offence of the Jews.
27	13 14	M. Licinius Crassus. L. Calphurnius Piso.	Herod Antipas, putting away the daughter of Aretas king of Arabia, marries Herodias, his brother Philip's wife.
28	14 15	Ap. Junius Silanus. P. Silius Nerva.	Joseph, our Lord's reputed father, is by some said to decease this year.
29	15 16	C. Rubellius, P. Fusius } Gemini.	John the Baptist begins to preach and to baptize, (probably) about Midsummer, or, as archbishop Usher thinks, Octob. 19.
30	16 17	C. Cassius Longinus. M. Vinucius Quartinus.	Our Lord baptized, Jan. 6, having completed the twenty-ninth year of his age, and thirteen days. His first Passover, April 6.
31	17 18	Tiber. Nero Cæsar. V. L. Ælius Sejanus.	His second Passover, March 28. His cure of the paralytic at the pool of Bethesda. His sending out the twelve apostles. John the Baptist beheaded.
32	18 19	Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. A. Vitellius Nepos. *Suff.* M. Fur. Camillus Scrib.	The third Passover, April 14, four thousand fed with seven loaves. Christ's transfiguration. The seventy disciples sent out. Zacchæus converted. Bartimæus cured of his blindness.
33	19 20	Ser. Sulpit. Galba. L. Cornelius Sylla.	Lazarus raised. Our Lord's triumphant entry into Jerusalem. The Lord's Supper instituted. The fourth Passover. Our Lord apprehended, arraigned, crucified April 3, rises again, and ascends into heaven. The seven deacons chosen. St. Stephen stoned, Dec. 25.

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
34	Tiberii. 20 21	P. Fabius Persicus. L. Vitellius Nepos.	The persecution following St. Stephen's death. St. Philip's preaching at Samaria. His converting and baptizing the eunuch. Peter and John return to Jerusalem.
35	21 22	C. Cestius Gallus Camerinus. M. Servilius Rufus.	St. Paul converted, Jan. 25. St. Peter visits the churches. Jonathan, the son of Annas, made high-priest. Many favours conferred upon the Jews by Vitellius.
36	22 23	Q. Plautius Plautianus. *al.* Lælianus. Sex. Papinius Gallienus.	Peter's vision. Cornelius's conversion. Peter accused for his converse with the Gentiles at his return to Jerusalem.
37	23 24 Caligula à Mart. 16. 1	Cn. Acerronius Proculus. C. Pontius Nigrinus.	St. Paul comes to Jerusalem, and after fifteen days is by revelation commanded to depart thence. He goes for Tarsus.
38	1 2	C. Cæsar Caligula II. L. Apronius Cæsianus.	A cruel persecution raised against the Jews at Alexandria by Flaccus the prefect of Egypt.
39	2 3	M. Aquilius Julianus. P. Nonius Asprenas.	Pontius Pilate lays violent hands upon himself. The great increase of the church of Antioch. The believers first called "Christians" there.
40	3 4	C. Cæsar Caligula III. *Suff.* L. Gellius Publicola. M. Cocceius Nerva.	Caligula commands Petronius to set up his statue in the temple at Jerusalem; but at the great instance of the Jews it is deferred.
41	4 Claudius à 1 Febr. 1	C. Cæsar Caligula IV. *Suff.* Q. Pompon. Secundus. Cn. Sentius Saturninus.	St. James the Great, the apostle, beheaded by the command of Herod. Peter delivered out of prison.
42	1 2	Tib. Claudius Imp. II. C. Licinius Cæcina Largus.	Barnabas and Paul set forward in their preaching of the gospel. They plant the Christian faith in Seleucia, Cyprus, and other places.
43	2 3	T. Claudius Imp. III. L. Vitellius II.	Claudius abrogates many of the Roman festivals. Elion is made high-priest of the Jews in the room of Matthias the son of Ananus, deposed.
44	3 4	L. Q. Crispinus II. *al.* Vibius Priscus. T. Statilius Taurus.	Herod dies, being immediately struck by an angel for his pride and ambition.

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
45	Claudii. 4 5	M. Vicinius Quartinus. M. Statilius Corvinus.	The Blessed Virgin said by some to die this year, by others three years after. The apostles disperse themselves to preach the gospel to the several provinces of the Gentile world.
46	5 6	C. Valerius Asiaticus. M. Valerius Messala. *al.* M. Jun. Silanus.	Paul and Barnabas preach at Lystra. Paul stoned there. Their return to Antioch.
47	6 7	T. Claudius Imp. IV. L. Vitellius III.	Thirty thousand of the Jews, raising a tumult in the feast of unleavened bread, slain by Ventidius Cumanus, procurator of Judea.
48	7 8	A. Vitellius postea Imp. L. Vipsanius Poplicola.	A council holden by the apostles and others at Jerusalem to determine the controversy about legal rites. The decrees of the synod sent to the churches.
49	8 9	Cn. Pompeius Gallus. Q. Verannius Lætus.	Barnabas preaches the gospel in Cyprus; St. Paul in Syria, Cilicia, &c. The Jews banished Rome by the edict of Claudius.
50	9 10	C. Antistius Vetus. M. Suillius Rufus Nervilianus.	St. Paul, having travelled through Macedonia, comes to Athens, disputes with the philosophers, converts Dionysius the Areopagite, and thence passeth to Corinth, where he resides eighteen months.
51	10 11	T. Claudius Imp. V. Ser. Cornelius Orfitus.	St. Paul continues at Corinth, where he meets with Aquila and Priscilla, not long before banished Rome by the decree of Claudius. Hence he writes to the Thessalonians.
52	11 12	P. Cornelius Sylla Faustus. L. Salvius Otho Titianus.	St. Paul departs from Corinth, passes to Ephesus, thence to Jerusalem, and returns back to Ephesus.
53	12 13	D. Junius Silanus. Q. Haterius Antoninus.	He preaches and disputes daily in the school of Tyrannus, convinces the Jews, and converts great numbers to the faith.
54	13 14 Nero à 13 Oct. 1	M. Asinius Marcellus. M. Acilius Aviola.	St. Paul fights with beasts, i. e. men of evil and brutish manners, at Ephesus. He preaches there still, and in the parts thereabouts.
55	1 2	Nero Claudius Imp. L. Antistius Vetus.	St. Paul's departure from Ephesus. He passes through Macedonia and Greece, and gathers contribution for the saints at Jerusalem.

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
56	Neronis. 2 3	Q. Volusius Saturninus. P. Cornelius Scipio.	St. Paul comes to Jerusalem, and is apprehended in the temple, and secured in the castle. His imprisonment at Cæsarea, and arraignment before Felix the Roman governor.
57	3 4	Nero Claud. Imp. II. L. Calpurnius Piso.	St. Paul kept prisoner at Cæsarea under Felix.
58	4 5	Nero Cl. Imp. III. M. Valerius Messala.	St. Paul's arraignment before Festus. He is sent to Rome, where he arrives about the end of this, or the beginning of the following year.*
59	5 6	C. Vipsanius Poplicola. *al.* Apronianus. C. Fonteius Capito.	St. Paul's free imprisonment at Rome. He writes his epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, to Timothy, and Philemon.
60	6 7	Nero Cl. Imp. IV. Cossus Cornelius Lentulus.	About the latter end of this year St. Paul is set at liberty; and before his departure out of Italy writes his epistle to the Hebrews.
61	7 8	C. Cæsonius Pætus. C. Petronius Turpilianus *al.* Sabinus.	St. Paul, now released, travels for the propagation of the gospel, especially in the Western parts, ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς Δύσεως ἐλθὼν, Clem. Rom. Ep. ad Corinth. p. 8. probably into Spain, or Britain.
62	8 9	P. Marius Celsus. L. Asinius Gallus. *Suff.* Seneca et Trebellius.	St. James the Less, the brother of our Lord, and bishop of Jerusalem, thrown by the Jews from the temple, and knocked on the head with a fuller's club.
63	9 10	L. Memmius Regulus. Paulus Virginius Rufus.	Simeon chosen to be St. James's successor in the see of Jerusalem. Anianus succeeds St. Mark in the bishopric of Alexandria. Euseb. Chron.
64	10 11	C. Lecanius Bassus. M. Licinius Crassus Frugi.	Nero burns the city of Rome, and to wipe off the odium from himself, charges it upon the Christians, and raises the FIRST PERSECUTION against them under that pretext.

* The time of St. Paul's being sent to Rome, depends upon Festus's coming into Judea to succeed in the room of Felix; which, though it cannot be precisely determined, yet plain it is, that it must be while Pallas (Felix's brother, by whose mediation with the emperor, Felix at his return had his life spared, when accused by the Jews for his mal-administration) was yet in some favour with Nero, wherein he was declining some time before, and from which he seems wholly to have fallen upon Agrippina's death, (upon whose interest he stood at court,) who was slain, Neron. 5. Ann. Chr. 59, Pallas himself being poisoned, Neron. 8. anno 62.

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
65	Neronis. 11 12	P. Silius Nerva. C. Julius Atticus Vestinus. *Suff.* Anicius Cerealis.	*St. Peter and Paul suffer martyrdom at Rome. Several prodigies at Jerusalem foreshew the destruction of that church and state.
66	12 13	C. Suetonius Paulinus. L. Pontius Telesinus.	Nero residing in Achaia, commits the management of the war against the Jews to Vespasian.
67	13 14	L. Fonteius Capito. C. Julius Rufus.	Vespasian carries on the war with great diligence and success. Josephus is taken prisoner.
68	Galba à Jun. 10. 1	C. Silius Italicus. M. Galerius Trachalus Turpilianus.	Phanassus the son of Samuel the last high priest of the Jews.
69	Otho à Jan. 15. Vitellius ab April. 20. Vespasianus à 1. Julii. 1	Ser. Sulpitius Galba. Imp. II. T. Vinius Rufinus. *al.* Crispinianus.	Vespasian, being proclaimed emperor, leaves Judea, goes to Alexandria, and thence for Rome.
70	1 2	Fl. Vespasianus Imp. II. T. Vespasianus Cæsar.	Titus remanded by Vespasian to prosecute the Jewish war. Jerusalem besieged, taken, sacked, and burnt. Eleven hundred thousand of the Jews perish, and ninety-seven thousand taken prisoners.
71	2 3	Imp. Vespasianus III. M. Cocceius Nerva, postea Imper.	The Jewish nobility and the spoils of the temple carried in triumph to Rome. St. Bartholomew, the apostle, said to be martyred this, by others the following year.
72	3 4	Imp. Vespasianus IV. T. Vespasianus Cæsar. II.	Ebion, so called from an affected poverty, born at Cocaba, a village in Basanitis, and Cerinthus, noted heretics, begin more openly to shew themselves about this time.
73	4 5	Fl. Domitianus. M. Valerius Messalinus.	St. Thomas slain at Maliapor in India. St. Martialis at Ravenna in Italy.
74	5 6	Imp. Vespasianus V. T. Vespasianus III.	The last census made at Rome: several very aged persons then noted, mentioned by Pliny, lib. vii. c. 49. justifying the great age of several ecclesiastic persons of those times.

* Some of the most learned chronologists of the Roman church place the martyrdom of these two great apostles two years later, viz. Ann. Chr. 67, which if any like better, I will not contend; the persecution probably extending to the last of Nero, though it seems most probable that they should suffer about the beginning of it.

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
75	Vespasian. 6 7	Imp. Vespasianus VI. Tit. Vespasianus IV. *Suff.* Domitianus IV.	The temple of peace dedicated by Vespasian, and the Jewish spoils laid up in it.
76	7 8	Imp. Vespasianus VII. Tit. Vespasianus V. *Suff.* Domitianus V.	
77	8 9	Imp. Vespasianus VIII. Tit. Vespasianus VI. *Suff.* Domitianus VI.	Linus, bishop of the church of the Gentile Christians at Rome, suffers martyrdom, having sat twelve years, four months, and twelve days; though others allow but eleven years, two months, and twenty-three days.
78	9 10	L. Ceionius Commodus Verus. C. Cornelius Priscus.	Antipas, a faithful martyr, slain at Pergamus. Onuphr. by others referred to anno 93.
79	10 Titus à Jun. 24. 1	Imp. Vespasianus IX. Tit. Vespasianus VII.	A great eruption of Vesuvius; in the over-curious search whereof Pliny the Elder perished the following year.
80	1 2	Titus Vespas. Imp. VIII. Fl. Domitianus VII.	Titus commands Josephus's History of the Jewish War to be laid up in the library at Rome.
81	2 3 Domit. à Sept. 13. 1	M. Plautius Sylvanus. M. Annius Verus Pollio.	
82	1 2	Imp. Domitianus VIII. T. Flavius Sabinus.	
83	2 3	Imp. Domitianus IX. T. Virginius Rufus II.	Domitian banishes the philosophers out of Rome and Italy, and severely punishes the incest of the vestal virgins.
84	3 4	Imp. Domitianus X. Ap. Junius Sabinus.	
85	4 5	Imp. Domitianus XI. T. Aurelius Fulvus.	Anianus, St. Mark's successor in the bishopric of Alexandria, dies, and is succeeded by Avilius.
86	5 6	Imp. Domitianus XII. Ser. Cornelius Dolabella.	
87	6 7	Imp. Domitianus XIII. A. Volusius Saturninus.	Domitian assumes divine honours, commanding himself to be styled Lord and God.
88	7 8	Imp. Domitianus XIV. M. Minucius Rufus.	

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
89	Domit. 8 9	T. Aurelius Fulvius. A. Sempronius Atratinus.	Philosophers and mathematicians again banished out of Rome.
90	9 10	Imp. Domitianus XV. M. Cocceius Nerva II.	Apollonius Tyanæus, the famous magician, set up by the Gentiles as rival to our Saviour, is brought before Domitian, shews tricks of magic, and is said immediately to vanish out of his sight. The SECOND PERSECUTION.
91	10 11	M. Ulpius Trajanus. M. Acilius Glabrio.	*Cletus, bishop of Rome, martyred this (if not rather the foregoing) year, April 26; he is succeeded by Clemens, May 16.
92	11 12	Imp. Domitianus XVI. A. Volusius Saturninus II.	About this time St. John is supposed to be sent by the proconsul of Asia to Rome, and by Domitian to have been put into a vessel of hot oil, and then banished into Patmos.
93	12 13	Sex. Pompeius Collega. Cornelius Priscus.	
94	13 14	L. Nonius Asprenas Torquatus. M. Arricinius Clemens.	St. John writes his book of Revelations. Josephus finishes his books of Jewish Antiquities.
95	14 15	Imp. Domitianus XVII. T. Flavius Clemens Mart.	Fl. Clemens, Domitian's cousin-german, and consul with him this year, put to death for being a Christian. His wife, Fl. Domitilla, Domitian's niece, banished for the same cause.
96	15 16 Nerva, à Sept. 18. 1	C. Fulvius Valens. C. Antistius Vetus.	Nerva revoking the acts of Domitian, St. John is released of his banishment, and returns to Ephesus.
97	1 2	Coc. Nerva Imp. III. T. Virginius Rufus III. *Suff.* C. Cornelius Tacitus, historicus.	St. John, (this year probably,) after solemn preparation, writes his Gospel, at the earnest request of the Asian churches.
98	2 Trajan, à Jan. 27. 1	Imp. Nerva IV. M. Ulpius Trajanus II.	Avilius dying, Cerdo succeeds in the see of Alexandria. St. Clemens, bishop of Rome, is banished, and condemned to the marble quarries in the Taurica Chersonesus.

* This Cletus is by the Greeks, and that with greatest probability, made the same with Anacletus, which breeds a great difference in their account of years. But because the account of the Greeks is not so clear and smooth, we have chosen, in assigning the times of the bishops of Rome, to follow the writers of that church.

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
99	Trajani. 1 2	C. Sosius Senecio II. A. Cornelius Palma.	
100	2 3	Imp. Trajanus III. M. Cornelius Fronto III. *Suff.* Plinius, junior.	St. John dies, and is buried at Ephesus. St. Clemens of Rome is thrown into the sea, with an anchor tied about his neck, November 9, having been sole bishop of Rome, nine years, eleven months, and twelve days.
101	3 4	Imp. Trajanus IV. Sex. Articuleius Pætus.	Anacletus (according to the computation of the church of Rome) succeeds in that see, April 3.
102	4 5	C. Sosius Senecio III. L. Licinius Sura.	
103	5 6	Imp. Trajanus V. L. Appius Maximus.	Elxai, a false prophet, author of a new sect, arises. Epiph. Hæres. xix.
104	6 7	L. Licinius Sura II. P. Neratius Marcellus.	
105	7 8	T. Julius Candidus. A. Julius Quadratus.	Barsimæus, bishop of Edessa, suffers martyrdom; others place it anno 109.
106	8 9	L. Ceionius Commodus Verus. L. Tullius Cerealis.	The Greek Menology mentions 11,000 Christian soldiers banished by Trajan into Armenia, and that 10,000 of them were crucified upon mount Ararat.
107	9 10	C. Sosius Senecio IV. L. Licinius Sura III.	The THIRD PERSECUTION, wherein Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, is crucified in the one hundred and twentieth year of his age. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, condemned, and sent to Rome to be thrown to wild beasts.
108	10 11	Ap. Annius Trebonius Gallus. M. Atilius Bradua.	Ignatius's bones are conveyed back to Antioch, and there solemnly interred.
109	11 12	A. Cornel. Palma II. C. Calvisius Tullus II.	Onesimus, St. Paul's disciple, whom the martyrologies make bishop of Ephesus, stoned at Rome, Feb. 16. Primus made bishop of Alexandria.
110	12 13	Clodius Crispinus. Solenus Orfitus Hasta.	Euaristus succeeds Anacletus, bishop of Rome, though the Greeks, who make Cletus and Anacletus the same person, make him immediately to follow Clemens.
111	13 14	L. Calpurnius Piso. Vettius Rusticus Bolanus.	Justus dying, Zacchæus succeeds in the see of Jerusalem.

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
112	Trajani. 14 15	Imp. Trajanus VI. C. Julius Africanus.	
113	15 16	L. Publius Celsus. C. Clodius Crispinus.	
114	16 17	Q. Ninnius Hasta. P. Manlius Vopiscus.	
115	17 18	M. Valerius Messala. *Vel ut al.* Adrianus et Salinator. C. Popilius Carus Pedro.	The Jews at Alexandria, and about Cyrene in Egypt, rebel, who are slain in great numbers.
116	18 19	Æmilius Ælianus. L. Antistius Vetus.	Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, sets on foot the Millenarian doctrine.
117	19 20 Adrian, ab Aug. 9. 1	Quinctius Niger. T. Vipsanius Apronianus.	
118	1 2	Imp. Adrianus II. T. Claudius Fuscus.	The FOURTH PERSECUTION raised against the Christians, reinforcing that which had been set on foot by Trajan.
119	2 3	Imp. Adrianus III. Q. Junius Rusticus.	Pope Evaristus martyred. He sat nine years, three months, and ten days. He was succeeded by Alexander, a Roman. Justus made bishop of Alexandria.
120	3 4	L. Catilius Severus. T. Aurelius Fulvus, postea Imp. Antoninus.	The Christians severely prosecuted at Rome, whereof many martyrs, and more driven to hide themselves in the *cryptæ* and *cœmeteria* under ground.
121	4 5	M. Annius Verus II. L. Augur.	A great tumult at Alexandria about the idol Apis found there.
122	5 6	M. Acilius Aviola. Corellius Pansa.	The persecution rages in Asia, under the government of Arrius Antoninus, the proconsul.
123	6 7	Q. Arrius Pætinus. C. Ventidius Apronianus.	Adrian comes to Athens, and is initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries. Quadratus, bishop of Athens, and Aristides, present apologies to the emperor in behalf of the Christians.
124	7 8	M. Acilius Glabrio. C. Bellicius Torquatus.	Serenius Granianus writes to the emperor in favour of the Christians, by whose rescript to M. Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, (Granianus's successor,) the proceedings against them are mitigated.

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
125	Adriani. 8 9	P. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus II. Q. Vettius Aquilinus.	
126	9 10	Vespronius Candidus Verus II. Ambiguus Bibulus. *al.* M. Loll. Pedius. Q. Jun. Lepidus.	Adrian revisits Athens, finishes and dedicates the temple of Jupiter Olympius, and an altar to himself.
127	10 11	Gallicanus. C. Cælius Titianus.	
128	11 12	L. Nonius Asprenas Torquatus. M. Annius Libo.	Aquila, a kinsman of the emperor's, first turns Christian, then apostatizing to Judaism, translates the Old Testament into Greek.
129	12 13	Q. Juventius Celsus. Q. Julius Balbus.	
130	13 14	Q. Fabius Catullinus. M. Flavius Aper.	Ælius Adrianus having repaired Jerusalem, calls it after his own name, Ælia. The martyrdom of Alexander, bishop of Rome, after he had sat ten years, five months, and twenty days; to whom succeeded Sixtus, a Roman.
131	14 15	Ser. Octavius Lænas Pontianus. M. Antonius Rufinus.	Hymenæus made bishop of Alexandria, being the sixth bishop of that see.
132	15 16	Sentius Augurinus. Arrius Severianus.	The Jews rebel against the Romans under the conduct of Barchochab, an impostor. Justin Martyr converted to Christianity about this time, or, it may be, the following year.
133	16 17	Hiberus. Jul. Silanus Sisenna.	The Jews dispersed and overcome by the prudent arts of Julius Severus, the Roman general, though not fully suppressed till the following year, when Barchochab was executed.
134	17 18	C. Julius Servilius Ursus Severianus. C. Vibius Juventius Verus.	Basilides, the heresiarch, makes himself famous at Alexandria.
135	18 19	Pompeianus Lupercus. L. Junius Atticus Acilianus.	Marcus, the first of the Gentile converts, made bishop of Jerusalem, all hitherto having been of the circumcision.
136	19 20	L. Ceionius Commodus Verus. Sex. Vetulenus Pompeianus.	Getulius, Amantius, Cerealis, and several others, suffer martyrdom.

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
137	Adriani. 20 21	L. Ælius Verus Cæsar II. P. Cælius Balbinus Vibullius Pius.	Phlegon, the Trallian, formerly servant to the emperor Adrian, here ends his book of Olympiads. Olymp. 229. Ann. 1.
138	21 Antoninus Pius, July 10. 1	Sulpicius Camerinus. Quinct. Niger Magnus.	
139	1 2	Imp. Antoninus Pius II. Bruttius Præsens.	
140	2 3	Imp. Anton. Pius III. M. Aurelius Cæsar.	Upon Sixtus's martyrdom, Telesphorus is chosen bishop of Rome, according to the Roman account. Justin Martyr presents his first (usually put second) Apology for the Christians.
141	3 4	M. Peducæus Syloga Priscinus. T. Hœnius Severus.	
142	4 5	L. Cuspius Rufinus. L. Statius Quadratus.	About this time the most absurd and senseless heretics, the Ophitæ, Cainitæ, and Sethiani, arise.
143	5 6	C. Bellicius Torquatus. T. Claudius Atticus Herodes.	
144	6 7	Lollianus Avitus. C. Gavius Maximus.	Eumenes, or Hymenæus, bishop of Alexandria, dies; Marcus, the seventh bishop of that see, succeeds. Valentinus, the heretic, appears.
145	7 8	Imp. Anton. Pius IV. M. Aurelius Cæsar II.	
146	8 9	Sex. Erucius Clarus II. Cn. Claudius Severus.	Marcion, after his frequent recantations, again lapses into heresy, which he propagates more industriously than before.
147	9 10	M. Valerius Largus. M. Valerius Messalinus.	
148	10 11	C. Bellicius Torquatus II. M. Salvius Julianus II.	
149	11 12	Ser. Cornel. Scipio Orfitus. Q. Nonius Priscus.	Celadion succeeds as the eighth bishop of Alexandria.
150	12 13	Romulus Gallicanus. Antistius Vetus.	
151	13 14	Sex. Quinct. Gordianus. Sex. Quinct. Maximus.	

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
152	Antonii Pii. 14 15	Sex. Acilius Glabrio. C. Valerius Omollus Varianus.	Pope Telesphorus martyred, having sat eleven years, nine months, three days. Petav. etc. Hyginus succeeds.
153	15 16	Bruttius Præsens II. M. Antonius Rufinus.	
154	16 17	L. Aurelius Cæsar. Sextilius Lateranus.	*Anicetus, according to the account of the Greeks, succeeds about this time in the see of Rome, not long after which St. Polycarp comes thither: and this no doubt much truer than the computation of the church of Rome.
155	17 18	C. Julius Severus. M. Rufinus Sabinianus.	
156	18 19	Plautius Sylvanus. Sentius Augurinus.	Pope Hyginus martyred, after he had sitten four years, wanting two days, to whom Pius succeeds. Petav. Ricciol. Briet. etc.
157	19 20	Barbatus. Regulus.	
158	20 21	Q. Fl. Tertullus. Licinius Sacerdos.	
159	21 22	Plautius Quinctillus. Statius Priscus.	
160	22 23	T. Vibius Barus. Ap. Annius Bradua.	
161	23 M. Aurelius L. Ælius Verus, à 6 Martii. 1	M. Aurelius Cæsar III. L. Ælius Verus Cæsar II.	
162	1 2	Q. Junius Rusticus. Vettius Aquilinus.	Justin the Martyr presents his other Apology to the emperor in behalf of the Christians. The FIFTH PERSECUTION begun.
163	2 3	L. Papirius Ælianus. Junius Pastor.	Justin suffered martyrdom (probably about this time) at Rome, or, at most, the next year.
164	3 4	C. Julius Macrinus. L. Cornelius Celsus.	Marcus and Timotheus martyred at Rome.

* In the catalogue of the bishops of Rome recorded by Optatus and St. Augustine, Anicetus is set before Pius: according to which account, Anicetus's succession in that see, and consequently Polycarp's coming to Rome, must be placed fifteen years sooner. See the Life of St. Polycarp, num. 4.

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
165	M. Aurelii L. Ælii Veri. 4 5	L. Arrius Pudens. M. Gravius Orfitus.	Upon pope Pius's martyrdom, Anicetus is advanced into the chair: though Eusebius and the Greeks, according to their account, make his pontificate commence Ann. Chr. 154, and accordingly fix the time of Polycarp's coming to Rome.
166	5 6	Q. Servilius Pudens. L. Fusidius Pollio.	
167	6 7	L. Aurelius Verus. T. Numidius Quadratus.	St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, suffers martyrdom there, together with Germanicus and others.
168	7 8	T. Junius Montanus. L. Vettius Paulus.	Theophilus made bishop of Antioch, who learnedly defends the cause of Christianity against the Gentiles, Eusebius refers it to the following year.
169	8 9	Sosius Priscus. Q. Cælius Apollinaris.	Gervasius and Protasius undergo martyrdom about this time at Milan.
170	9 10	L. Julius Clarus. M. Aurelius Cethegus.	Melito bishop of Sardis and Apollinaris bishop of Hierapolis present their apologetics to the emperor for the Christians.
171	10 11	L. Septimius Severus II. *al.* T. Tibinus Serenus. Herennianus. *al.* C. Scœdius Natta.	Montanus and his accomplices, authors of the new prophecy, begin now more plainly to discover themselves, having craftily broached their errors some years before.
172	11 12	Claudius Maximus. Cornelius Scipio Orfitus.	Tatian, heretofore Justin Martyr's scholar, becomes author of the sect called Encratitæ. Bardesanes, the Syrian, infected with Valentinianism.
173	12 13	Claudius Severus. T. Claudius Pompeianus.	Pope Anicetus crowned with martyrdom, having been bishop of Rome eight years, two months, seven days. Soter succeeds.
174	13 14	Annius Trebonius Gallus. L. Flaccus.	M. Aurelius's victory over the Quadi and Marcomanni in Germany, gained by the prayers of the Christian legion.
175	14 15	Calpurnius Piso. M. Salvius Julianus.	
176	15 16	T. Vitrasius Pollio. M. Flavius Aper.	

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
177	M. Aurelii. 16 17	L. Aurel. Commodus Imp. Plautius Quinctillus.	Soter, being taken away by martyrdom, Eleutherus, a Greek, succeeds in the church of Rome. Athenagoras, the Christian philosopher of Athens, is now supposed to have presented his Apology.
178	17 18	Vettius Rufus. Cornelius Scipio Orfitus.	The foregoing year, a persecution raged horribly in France, wherein, besides many others, died Pothinus, bishop of Lyons, to whom succeeded Irenæus the year following.
179	18 19	Imp. L. Aurelius Commodus II. Vespronius Candidus Verus.	The Cataphrygian heresy greatly prevails.
180	19 Commodus à Mart. 16. 1	Bruttius Præsens II. Sex Quinctil. Gordianus.	Julianus created bishop of Alexandria. Pantænus, a Christian philosopher, opens the catechetic school at Alexandria.
181	1 2	Imp. Commodus III. Antistius Burrhus.	The persecution against the Christians much abated.
182	2 3	Petronius Mamertinus. Trebellius Rufus.	Theodotion of Pontus, first a Marcionite, then a Jew, translates the Old Testament into Greek. The temple of Serapis at Alexandria burnt down.
183	3 4	Imp. Commodus IV. M. Aufidius Victorinus.	
184	4 5	M. Eggius Marullus *seu* Marcellus. M. Papirius Ælianus.	Commodus introduces the worship of Isis (formerly prohibited) into Rome.
185	5 6	Triarius Maternus. M. Atilius Metilius Bradua.	
186	6 7	Imp. Commodus V. M. Acilius Glabrio.	About this time, Lucius, a prince of Britain, is said to have sent letters to pope Eleutherius, to furnish him with preachers to publish the Christian faith in these parts. Origen born.
187	7 8	Tullius *seu* Clodius Crispinus. Papirius Ælianus.	Apollonius, a great philosopher and (as St. Hierom affirms) a senator, pleads his own, and the cause of the Christian religion before the senate, for which he suffers martyrdom.

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
188	Commodi. 8 9	C. Allius Fuscianus. Duillius Silanus.	The capitol burnt by lightning, which destroyed the adjacent buildings, especially the famous libraries.
189	9 10	Junius Silanus. Q. Servilius Silanus.	Demetrius ordained bishop of Alexandria, who sat forty-three years. Serapion made bishop of Antioch, this, or as others, the following year.
190	10 11	Imp. Commodus VI. Petronius Septimianus.	Commodus will have himself accounted Hercules, the son of Jupiter, and accordingly habits himself; with other extravagant instances of folly.
191	11 12	Cassius Apronianus. M. Attilius Metilius Bradua II.	Julian a senator, and many others, said to be martyred about this time.
192	12 13	Imp. Commodus VII. P. Helvius Pertinax.	Pope Eleutherius, having sat fifteen years and twenty-three days, dies; in whose room, Victor, an African, succeeds.
193	Pertinax à 1 Januar. Did. Julianus à Mart. 28. Severus à Maii 11. 1	Q. Sosius Falco. C. Julius Clarus.	
194	1 2	Imp. Severus II. Clodius Albinus Cæsar II.	Clemens Alexandrinus, Pantænus's scholar and successor in the catechetic school, was famous about this time. Pope Victor excommunicates Theodorus the heretic.
195	2 3	Q. Fl. Tertullus. T. Fl. Clemens.	Narcissus made bishop of Jerusalem. He is famous for miracles and an holy life.
196	3 4	Cn. Domitius Dexter. L. Valerius Messala Priscus.	Pope Victor revives the controversy about the celebration of Easter, threatens to excommunicate the Asiatic churches, for which he is severely reproved by many, and especially by Irenæus. Several synods holden to this purpose.
197	4 5	Ap. Claudius Lateranus. M. Marius Rufinus.	The Jews and Samaritans rebel, and are overcome, and their religion strictly forbidden. Severus triumphs for that victory.
198	5 6	Tib. Aterius Saturninus. C. Annius Trebon. Gallus.	

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
199	Severi. 6 7	P. Cornelius Anulinus. M. Aufidius Fronto.	Severus creates his son Antoninus emperor, his son Geta Cæsar, and bestows a large donative upon the soldiers, which gave occasion to Tertullian to write his book *De Corona.*
200	7 8	Tib. Claudius Severus. C. Aufidius Victorinus.	The Christians at Rome severely treated by Plautianus, prefect of the city, and in Africa by Saturninus, the proconsul. Tertullian writes his Apologetic, either this or the following year.
201	8 9	L. Annius Fabianus. M. Nonius Mucianus.	Pope Victor, after nine years and two months, being martyred, leaves the place to Zephyrinus. Tertullian presents his discourse to the president Scapula.
202	9 10	Imp. Severus III. Imp. Antoninus Caracalla.	The SIXTH PERSECUTION: wherein Leonidas, Origen's father, suffers martyrdom at Alexandria; Irenæus, at Lyons in France.
203	10 11	P. Septimius Geta. L. Septimius Plautianus.	Origen, a very youth, sets up a grammar school at Alexandria, and becomes famous. At eighteen years of age he is preferred by Demetrius the bishop to be instructor of the catechumens.
204	11 12	L. Fabius Chilo Septimius. M. Annius Libo.	The secular games celebrated at Rome, upon which occasion, probably, Tertullian wrote his book *De Spectaculis*, and, it may be, that *De Idololatria.*
205	12 13	Imp. Antoninus Caracalla II. P. Septimius Geta Cæsar.	
206	13 14	M. Nummius Annius Albinus. Fulvius Æmilianus.	Origen makes the famous attempt upon himself, in making himself an eunuch.
207	14 15	M. Flavius Aper. Q. Allius Maximus.	Tertullian writes against the Marcionites, and his book *De Pallio*, and was then (probably) made presbyter of Carthage. About this time, Minucius Felix is supposed to publish his dialogue called Octavius.
208	15 16	Imp. Antoninus Caracalla III. P. Septimius Geta Cæsar II.	

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
209	Severi. 16 17	T. Claudius Pompeianus. Lollianus Avitus.	
210	17 18	M. Acilius Faustinus. C. Cæsonius Macer Rufinianus.	
211	18 Antoninus Caracalla à 4 Febr. 1	Q. Epidius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus. Pomponius Bassus.	
212	1 2	M. Pompeius Asper. P. Asper.	Alexander, a Cappadocian bishop, made bishop of Jerusalem.
213	2 3	Imp. Caracalla IV. P. Cælius Balbinus.	
214	3 4	Silius Messala. Q. Aquilius Sabinus.	A disputation held at Rome between Caius and Proclus, one of Montanus's disciples; whereupon pope Zephyrin excluded Proclus and Tertullian communion with the church of Rome, which occasioned Tertullian's starting aside to Montanus's party.
215	4 5	Æmilius Lætus. Anicius Cerealis.	Tertullian writes against the orthodox, against whom he inveighs under the name of Psychici.
216	5 6	Q. Aquilius Sabinus II. Sex. Corn. Anulinus.	
217	6 7 Marcinus et Diadumen. F à 10 April. 1	Bruttius Præsens. Extricatus.	A Greek translation of the bible, called the fifth edition, found in a hogshead at Jericho, inserted by Origen into his Octapla.
218	2 Antoninus Elagabalus à 7 Jun. 1	Anton. Diadumenus Cæsar. Adventus.	
219	1 2	Imp. Elagabalus II. Licinius Sacerdos.	Pope Zephyrin dies. He sat twenty-two years and so many days. Succeeded by Callistus.
220	2 3	Imp. Elagabalus III. M. Aurelius Eutychianus Comazon.	Julius Africanus, a famous Christian writer, sent upon an embassy to the emperor, for the rebuilding of Nicopolis (anciently Emmaus) a city in Palestine.
221	3 4	Annius Gratus. Claudius Seleucus.	

A n Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
222	Antonini. 4 Alexander Mam. à Martii 6. 1	Imp. Elagabalus IV. M. Aurelius Severus. Alexander Cæsar.	Hippolytus, bishop of Portus, composes his paschal canon.
223	1 2	Maximus. Papirius Ælianus.	Among the famous men of this time was Ulpian the lawyer, who collected all the imperial edicts formerly published against the Christians.
224	2 3	Claudius Julianus. Claudius Crispinus.	The Christians cruelly persecuted at Rome, at the instigation of Ulpian, the great lawyer. Pope Callistus martyred, after he had sat five years, one month, twelve days. Urban chosen in his room.
225	3 4	L. Turpilius Dexter. M. Mæcius Rufus.	
226	4 5	Imp. Alexander II. C. Quinctilius Marcellus.	
227	5 6	D. Cælius Balbinus II. M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus.	Hippolytus, bishop of Portus, suffers martyrdom.
228	6 7	Vettius Modestus. Probus.	Origen ordained presbyter by Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus of Cæsarea.
229	7 8	Imp. Alexander III. Dio Cassius *historicus.*	The sixth Greek edition found at Nicopolis.
230	8 9	Calpurnius Agricola. Clementinus.	Origen prosecuted, and synodically condemned by Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria.
231	9 10	T. Claudius Pompeianus. Felicianus.	Origen resigns up his catechetic school to his scholar Heraclas, who is soon after chosen bishop of Alexandria. Pope Urban beheaded. He is succeeded by Pontianus.
232	10 11	Julius Lupus. Maximus.	Origen departs from Alexandria, and fixes his residence at Cæsarea in Palestine. Plotinus becomes Ammonius's scholar at Alexandria.
233	11 12	Maximus II. Ovinius Paternus.	
234	12 13	Maximus III. Urbanus.	Pontianus, bishop of Rome, banished into Sardinia.

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
235	Alexandri. 13 14 Maximinus à 18 Martii. 1	L. Catilius Severus. L. Ragonius Urinatius Quintianus.	Maximinus raises the SEVENTH PERSECUTION against the Christians. Origen writes his Exhortation to Martyrdom. Pope Pontianus suffers martyrdom in Sardinia. Anterus succeeds in the chair.
236	1 2	Imp. Maximinus. C. Julius Africanus.	Anterus, scarce having possessed his place one month, is slain, and Fabian elected in his room.
237	2 3 Pupienus Balbinus à Maii 26. 1	P. Titius Perpetuus. L. Ovinius Rusticus Cornelianus.	
238	1 Gordianus à mense Martii. 1	M. Ulpius Crinitus. C. Nonius Proculus Pontianus.	
239	1 2	Imp. Gordianus. M. Acilius Aviola.	Zebinus, bishop of Antioch, dies; Babylas is chosen to that see.
240	2 3	Vettius Sabinus. Venustus.	About this time Origen is thought to have taken his second journey to Athens, where he finished his commentaries upon Ezekiel.
241	3 4	Imp. Gordianus II. T. Claudius Pompeianus II.	
242	4 5	C. Aufidius Atticus. C. Asinius Prætextatus.	
243	5 6	C. Julius Africanus. Æmilius Pappus.	Origen is sent for into Arabia, where he disputes with, and converts Beryllus from his unsound and erroneous opinions.
244	6 Philippus à mense April. 1	Fulvius Æmilianus. Peregrinus.	
245	1 2	Imp. Philippus. Tib. Fabius Titianus.	
246	2 3	Bruttius Præsens. Nummius Albinus.	Dionysius, one of Origen's scholars and successors in the Schola Κατηχήσεων, made bishop of Alexandria.

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
247	Philippi. 3 4	Imp. Philippus II. M. Philippus F. Cæsar.	The Annus Millesimus ab U. C. begun this, ended the following year, and celebrated by the emperor with all imaginable solemnity and magnificence.
248	4 5	Imp. Philippus III. M. Julius Philippus F. II.	Cyprian chosen bishop of Carthage.
249	5 6 Decius à Maio. 1	Fulvius Æmilianus II. Vettius Aquilinus.	A tumult raised at Alexandria by an impostor, gives occasion to a preliminary persecution against the Christians there.
250	1 2	Imp. Messius Decius. Annius Maximus Gratus.	The EIGHTH PERSECUTION raised by Decius. St. Cyprian in retirement. Pope Fabian martyred: after whose decease a vacancy in that see for above a year, Novatian endeavouring to thrust himself in.
251	2 3 Gallius et Volusianus F. à Dec. 1	Imp. Decius II. Q. Etruscus Decius F. Cæsar.	Great schisms in the African church about the lapsed. Cornelius elected bishop of Rome.
252	1 2	Imp. Trebonianus Gallus II. C. Vibius Volusianus.	The Novatian doctrines condemned in a synod of sixty bishops at Rome. The emperors renew the persecution begun under Decius. A great mortality throughout the world.
253	2 3 Valerianus cum Gallieno F. à Dec. 1	C. Vibius Volusianus II. M. Valerius Maximus.	Cornelius first banished, then recalled, cruelly beaten, and at last beheaded. Lucius succeeds him.
254	1 2	Imp. Licinius Valerianus II. Imp. Gallienus.	Origen dies, and is buried at Tyre. Valerian the emperor at first a great patron of the Christians.
255	2 3	Imp. Valerianus III. Imp. Gallienus II.	Pope Lucius, after one year and three months, suffers martyrdom. Stephen, a Roman, chosen to be his successor.
256	3 4	M. Valerius Maximus. M. Acilius Glabrio.	The great controversy about the rebaptizing such as had been baptized by heretics hotly ventilated. The heats between Cyprian and Stephen of Rome.

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
257	Valeriani cum Gallieno. 4 5	Imp. Valerianus IV. Imp. Gallienus III.	The NINTH PERSECUTION begun by Valerian. Sabellius confounds the persons in the Trinity, and spreads his heresy.
258	5 6	M. Aurelius Memmius Fuscus. Pomponius Bassus.	Pope Stephen slain, Aug. 2, which others refer to the foregoing year. Sixtus succeeds. St. Cyprian beheaded at Carthage, Sept. 14.
259	6 Gallienus solus, capto Valer. 7	Fulvius Æmilianus. *al.* Gallienus IV. Pomponius Bassus II. *al.* Valerianus jun.	Pope Sixtus and his deacon Laurentius receive the crown of martyrdom. Dionysius succeeds in the see of Rome.
260	7 8	Cornelius Secularis. Junius Donatus.	Paul of Samosata made bishop of Antioch. Gallienus stops the persecution against the Christians.
261	8 9	Imp. Gallienus IV. Volusianus.	Dionysius bishop of Alexandria writes to pope Dionysius, to vindicate himself from the suspicion of Sabellianism charged upon him.
262	9 10	Imp. Gallienus V. App. Pompeius Faustinus.	Æmylian attempts to make himself emperor, and besieges Alexandria, where the Christians are reduced to great straits.
263	10 11	Nummius Albinus. Maximus Dexter.	
264	11 12	Imp. Gallienus VI. Æmilius Saturninus.	
265	12 13	Valerianus Cæsar II. L. Cæsonius Lucillus Macer Rufinianus.	A synod held at Antioch against Paulus Samosetanus, the bishop of it. Dionysius bishop of Alexandria, and Gregory bishop of Neocæsarea, depart this life.
266	13 14	Imp. Gallienus VII. Sabinillus.	Hymenæus ordained bishop of Jerusalem.
267	14 15	Ovinius Paternus. Arcesilaus.	
268	15 Claudius à Mart. 21. 1	Ovinius Paternus II. Marinianus.	Claudius the emperor persecutes the Christians at Rome.

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
269	Claudii. 1 2	Imp. Aur. Claudius. Ovinius Paternus III.	
270	2 Aurelianus à Mart. 1	Flavius Antiochianus. Furius Orfitus.	Another synod held at Antioch, wherein Paul of Samosata is condemned and deposed, and Domnus placed in his room. Pope Dionysius dies, December 26.
271	1 2	Imp. Aurelianus. Pomponius Bassus. *al.* C. Jul. Capitolinus.	Felix chosen bishop of Rome.
272	2 3	Quietus. Voldumianus.	Many suffer martyrdom about this time.
273	3 4	M. Claudius Tacitus. Furius Placidianus.	
274	4 5	Imp. Aurelianus II. C. Julius Capitolinus.	Zenobia queen of the Palmyreni, a Jewess, and (if some might be credited) a Christian, overcome by Aurelian, and carried in triumph to Rome.
275	5 Tacitus à 25. Sept. 1	Imp. Aurelianus III. T. Nonius Marcellinus.	Pope Felix crowned with martyrdom, after he had sitten four years and five months. His successor was Eutychianus, a Tuscan.
276	Florianus April 12. 1 Probus à Jul. 1. 1	Imp. M. Cl. Tacitus II. Fulvius Æmilianus.	
277	1 2	Imp. Aurelius Probus. Anicius Paulinus. *al* M. Furius Lupus.	The Manichæan heresy springs up, planted by Manes a Persian, originally called Curbicum, the author of that wild and execrable sect.
278	2 3	Imp. Probus II. M. Furius Lupus. *al.* Virius.	Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea, eminent for his skill in philosophy and human learning. He had formerly been colleague with Theotecnus, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine. Cyrillus the eighteenth bishop of Antioch.
279	3 4	Imp. Probus III. Ovinius Paternus. *al.* C. Junius Tiberianus.	
280	4 5	Junius Messala. Gratus.	

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
281	Probi. 5 6	Imp. Probus IV. C. Junius Tiberianus.	Theonas created bishop of Alexandria, the fifteenth bishop of that church.
282	6 7 Carus cum FF. Numeriano, Carino Aug. 12. 1	Imp. Probus V. Pomponius Victorinus.	
283	1 2	Imp. M. Carus. M. A. Carinus Cæsar.	
284	2 Diocle-sianus à Sept. 17. 1	Imp. Carinus. Imp. Numerianus.	Eutychianus, bishop of Rome, crowned with martyrdom, Decemb. 8. His successor was Caius, a Dalmatian, and a kinsman (as is said) of Dioclesian. The Dioclesian era begins here.
285	1 2	Imp. Dioclesianus II. Aristobulus.	
286	2 3	Maximus Junius Priscillianus. Vettius Aquilinus.	*The Thebæan legion, under the command of Mauricius, being sent to attend upon Maximian in his expedition against the Bagaudæ, and refusing to do sacrifice, are first decimated, and then universally destroyed at Octodurus in France.
287	3 4	Imp. Dioclesianus III. Imp. Maximianus Herculeus.	Dioclesian and Maximian write to the proconsul of Africa to punish the Manichees, to burn their books, execute their persons, and confiscate their estates.
288	4 5	M. Aurelius Maximus. Pomponius Januarius.	
289	5 6	Annius Bassus. L. Ragonius Quinctianus.	
290	6 7	Imp. Dioclesianus IV. Imp. Maximianus Herculeus II.	Tharacus, Probus, and Andronicus suffer martyrdom at Tarsus in Cilicia.
291	7 8	C. Junius Tiberianus. Cassius Dio.	

* Though this seems the most proper period for the martyrdom of the Thebæan legion, when Maximian was sent against the rebels in France; yet is it said, in the Acts of their martyrdom, that in their journey out of the East they came to Rome, and were confirmed in the faith by Marcellinus, then bishop of it. Which if so, they could not suffer sooner than Ann. Chr. 296, when Marcellinus succeeded in that see.

Ann. Chr.	*Roman Emperors.*	*Consuls.*	*Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
292	Dioclesiani. 8 9	Afranius Hannibalianus. M. Aur. Asclepiodotus.	
293	9 10	Imp. Dioclesianus V. Imp. Maximianus III.	Dioclesian assumes the title of Lord, challenges divine honours, and suffers himself to be adored as God.
294	10 11	Constantius Chlorus Cæsar. Galerius Maximianus Cæsar.	
295	11 12	Nummius Tuscus. Annius Cornelius Anulinus.	
296	12 13	Imp. Dioclesianus VI. Constantius Cæsar II.	Caius bishop of Rome martyred, April 22. Marcellinus, a Roman, succeeds in the government of that church, who in the Dioclesian persecution lapsed and sacrificed to idols, though recovering he died a martyr.
297	13 14	Imp. Maximianus Herculeus V. Galerius Cæsar II.	
298	14 15	Anicius Faustus. Severus Gallus.	Zabdas ordained the twenty-seventh bishop of Jerusalem.
299	15 16	Imp. Dioclesianus VII. Imp. Maximianus Herculeus VI.	
300	16 17	Constantius Chlorus Cæsar III. Galerius Armentarius Cæsar III.	The Christians at Rome harassed out in working at Dioclesian's baths, most of whom, when the work was finished, were put to death, though the TENTH PERSECUTION did not universally begin till three years after, Ann. Chr. 303. Diocles. 19.

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